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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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6 November 1984

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INTERNATIONAL

OFFICIAL DESCRIBES TRAINING OF FOREIGN SPECIALISTS IN USSR

Moscow AGITATOR in Russian No 16, Aug 84 pp 31-33

[Response by A.Ye. Golubev, head of the Students, Postgraduates and Trainees from Foreign Countries Administration of the USSR Minister of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, to readers' letters: "With a Diploma from Soviet VUZ's"]

[Text] The editor's mailbag contains letters requesting information about the training of foreign specialists in the Soviet Union. The editorial board brought them to the attention of the head of the Students, Postgraduates and Trainees from Foreign Countries Administration of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, A.Ye. Golubev.

We are printing his answers to readers' questions.

Many countries spent long years in the clutches of colonialism and neocolonialism. While ruthlessly exploiting the natural and human resources, the colonizers showed virtually no concern for the establishment of a national economy or for the preparation and training of personnel for the development of industry and other branches of the colonies' economy. To this day the consequences of the capitalist yoke have not been eliminated. They are particularly acute in the system of education. Many of the liberated countries still do not have national VUZ's capable of training skilled specialists for their economies and cultures. In order to establish them, to supply them with modern scientific-technical laboratory equipment and libraries and to provide them with skilled professorial-teaching personnel, an extended period of time and enormous material resources are necessary. For this reason Soviet training of personnel to a high level of skill and in the necessary specialities constitutes an extremely important form of assistance to foreign countries.

The 26th CPSU Congress stated that to the degree of its capabilities our country extends to many liberated countries assistance

in the training of personnel--engineers, technicians, skilled workers, physicians, teachers. Many students from the socialist alliance study in our country within the framework of economic and cultural cooperation.

The party and the Soviet state view assistance in the training of national specialists as the practical implementation of one of the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism.

Which foreigners study in the USSR?

At the present time more than 500 of the leading higher and secondary specialized educational institutions and scientific-research institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, located in 100 cities of the Soviet Union are training more than 100,000 foreign citizens. More than 40 percent of them are citizens of the socialist countries, and more than half come from the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Soviet VUZ's have more than 10,000 students from Cuba, nearly 7,000 from the MPR (Mongolian People's Republic), more than 3,000 citizens from the PPR (Polish People's Republic), more than 4,000 from the SRV (Socialist Republic of Vietnam), and tens of thousands from the other fraternal countries. Students come in significant numbers from Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, the Congo, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Algeria, the Yemen Arab Republic, the Sudan, Tunisia, Mauritania, Nigeria, Tanzania, Angola, Chad, Benin, Peru, Colombia, Mexico, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and other countries.

In the last 30 years higher educational institutions and scientific-research institutions of the Soviet Union have trained more than 205,000 citizens of foreign countries to be engineers, doctors, economists, agronomists, physicists, mathematicians, historians, lawyers specializing in international affairs, directors, actors and other specialists. Foreign graduates of Soviet VUZ's include 18,000 candidates of science.

Among the higher educational institutions which have a significant number of Asian and African students the universities and industrial VUZ's play a primary role. There are, for example, 3,500 foreign students at the University of the Friendship of Peoples imeni Patrice Lumumba; Moscow State University has 2,500; Leningrad State University has 1,800 and Kiev State University has 1,500.

Are there any agreements on sending students to us for study?

Yes, there are. In a majority of cases they are concluded for an extended period of time. The Soviet Union has set up cooperative arrangements with more than 100 Asian, African and Latin American

states and with all the socialist states for the purpose of helping them train skilled specialists for all sectors of their economies and cultures. I would note that our Soviet citizens study in the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of an agreement with these countries.

The right of preferential admission to Soviet higher educational institutions is granted to young men and women from the working strata of the population, to workers and peasants and the labor intelligentsia. Of course, the foreign students who study in Soviet VUZ's also include representatives of the bourgeoisie. And the large pool of students from the developing countries (and there are many thousands of them), includes people of various religions--Moslems, Catholics, Orthodox and Buddhists. However all those accepted for study are granted equal opportunities to become highly-qualified specialists.

What kind of study and living conditions do foreign students have in the USSR?

Foreign students enjoy--as do Soviet students--free tuition and medical care, as well as the use of reading rooms and libraries. They are granted places in student dormitories. Young men and women who have finished secondary school in Asia, Africa and Latin America and who do not know Russian are enrolled in the preparatory departments. These have been established at 50 leading higher educational institutions. In these departments foreign students study Russian for a year, and bring their knowledge of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and drawing up to the level necessary for study in Soviet higher educational institutions. Once they have passed the entrance examinations, they are directed to higher educational institutions to continue their studies.

The Soviet Union has taken upon itself practically all the material expenditures for the tuition and maintenance of foreign students. All foreign students at the undergraduate and graduate levels, as well as specialists undergoing scientific-pedagogical practicums are provided with stipends.

There has been a significant increase in the number of stipends granted to foreign students by Soviet trade unions, by the Committee of USSR Youth Organizations, the Committee of Soviet Women, the Soviet Committee of Solidarity with the Asian and African Countries, and the Union of Soviet Societies for the Friendship and Cultural Ties with Overseas Countries.

Educational institutions help students from countries with hot climates to acquire warm winter clothing; during the summer holidays the schools help to organize for them recreation on advantageous terms in sanatoria and leisure centers, as well as

trips to acquaint them with the country. And, it should be added, the Soviet Union pays their fare home when they have finished their studies, and for a majority of the citizens from developing countries who have been accepted as students, it pays their fare to the USSR.

The recent discussion of the USSR's training of national specialists and skilled workers for foreign countries, which was held at a joint session of the foreign affairs committees of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is a manifestation of the concern for foreign students, for improvements in the quality of their training and the educational process and the creation of the necessary conditions for fruitful study and recreation.

Does the system of instruction for foreign citizens in the USSR differ from that in the capitalist countries?

Yes, it differs, and very substantially. In the first place, tuition in the capitalist countries is very high. And this limits the number of people from the working strata who are sent abroad to study. In the USSR tuition is free; moreover, as was said above, students are paid a stipend. The Soviet Union trains specialists for the key sectors of the national economies of the developing countries. Tens of thousands of engineers have already been trained for industrial and civil construction; for mining and metallurgical, machine tool and machine building enterprises; for railway construction and the servicing of aviation, motor vehicle and marine transportation. Agronomists, livestock specialists and veterinarians, specialists in the mechanization and electrification of agriculture have also been trained. As for the capitalist states, they never trained technical specialists from the population of those countries which were their colonies. They limited themselves, as was noted at the session of the foreign affairs committees, to training a narrow group of the offspring of the indigenous elite; from this group they chose people to indoctrinate as faithful underlings of the colonizers. Today, it is true, the imperialist countries have been forced to train technical personnel for the "third world" countries, but in the process they try in every possible way to impose their own bourgeois ideology on them and in this way to keep them in mental servitude.

Are the specific features of the countries from which the students come taken into account in their studies?

Absolutely. Teaching in USSR VUZ's for students from abroad is carried out with consideration for the climatic, medical-biological and social features and the specific developmental conditions of the the countries located in the hot, humid and dry climates.

In accordance with the curricula, future engineers are also given special courses of lectures, and appropriate seminars are stipulated. For example, seminars on the features of the architectural planning, construction and use of industrial and civil structures, railways and highways under tropical conditions. Or characteristics of the construction, manufacturing technology and utilization of machines and mechanisms under desert or humid climate conditions. During the entire period of study future doctors in medical VUZ's take a course on tropical medicine. Here use is made of the experience acquired by Soviet health care in eliminating mass diseases which were very common in prerevolutionary times in Central Asian regions: cholera, plague, pox, trachoma, helminthiasis and others.

Future agronomists and agricultural machine operators learn additional methods for the rational cultivation of fields in various climatic zones including desert and super humid climate conditions. Of course, during their studies students learn about the organization of modern, large-scale socialist agro-industrial complexes, as well as the organization of advanced kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the Ukrainian, Moldavian, Uzbek and Kazakh union republics and in Krasnodarskiy Kray.

How and where are the production and pre-diploma practical work of future specialists arranged?

More than 2,500 very large industrial enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, treatment and scientific-research institutions have been established as the base institutions, at which foreign students perform their production and pre-diploma practical work. The practical work is directed by highly-qualified VUZ teachers and by masters of production instruction employed by enterprises. Under the leadership of highly-skilled teachers and specialists, the future engineers, agronomists, physicians and teachers develop their professional skills, become acquainted with the organization and economic structure of socialist enterprises as well as with the scientific-technical achievements and life of Soviet labor collectives. More than 80 sector ministries participate in the organization of production instruction for foreign students.

Does the instructional program include learning about the USSR and the life of the Soviet people?

Soviet institutions of higher education do not impose communist ideology and our way of life on foreign students, as the West claims. But during their time as students in Soviet VUZ's they come to grasp the bases of a scientific, materialist world view. When studying the social sciences, they master the laws of the development of nature and society; they develop the ability to see the action of objective laws in the socio-economic develop-

ment of their countries and to understand the basic contradictions and general line of progress in human society in our era.

Foreign students are granted--according to their own desires--the opportunity to become fully acquainted with the life of the Soviet people and with the experience of communist construction. During the production practicums which they spend in collectives of workers, enterprises and institutions, during the familiarization trips which they take to various parts of the country, and during summer holidays, when they work as part of international student detachments of foreign students, they become acquainted with the social and state structure of the Soviet Union, the economy and organization of socialist enterprises, methods of production management and the Soviet way of life.

What kind of document do foreign citizens receive when they finish their studies in the USSR?

When they complete the entire course of instruction, foreign students are issued full diplomas attesting to their higher education; they are awarded the appropriate qualification and the degree of master of science, which is equivalent, for example, to the degrees which is awarded upon completion of university in England and the USA.

USSR higher education has also acquired a wealth of experience in the intensification and expansion of scientific-pedagogical training for specialists who have completed university (in their own country or the USSR) or other institutions of higher education. These specialists enroll in graduate studies at Soviet institutions of higher education or at scientific-research institutes affiliated with academies of sciences for the purpose of increasing their theoretical knowledge, performing scientific-research work or preparing and defending dissertations in pursuit of the candidate of science degree, which is equivalent to the Ph.D. degree awarded by universities in England or the USA or the degree of "state doctor" awarded by French universities. Soviet universities and institutes have already trained several thousand specialists at this level for the developing countries.

Is there a system of continuing education for foreign specialists?

Yes. The concern for the further education of specialists who have received their training in our country is characteristic of our VUZ's alone. A continuing education system has been established, and it has operated successfully for several years already. Foreign graduates of Soviet VUZ's are invited to attend an upgrading institute, to take short courses, teaching practicums, graduate studies or internships. Specialists from the developing countries who have completed Soviet universities periodically come to the Soviet Union to improve their

scientific-technical knowledge; to improve their professional qualifications; to learn about the achievements of scientific-technical progress and about new data on the economics and organization of production; and to acquire experience in scientific-pedagogical activities.

In addition, leading Soviet scholars and professors are sent, on the basis of agreements, directly to Asian, African and Latin American countries to hold scientific-technical seminars, conferences and courses for improving the skills of specialists who have graduated from Soviet VUZ's. This is also a significant contribution which the USSR makes to help the developing countries educate their own specialist personnel.

As a rule, personnel educated at Soviet institutions of higher learning work in their areas of training and are recognized by their peoples for their professional and moral qualities, as evidenced by the positive responses received by the VUZ's. The political parties and social organizations of the liberated and the socialist countries have frequently expressed high praise for the Soviet Union's assistance in the training of their personnel. This is the best reward for the large contingent of employees at Soviet VUZ's.

The training of skilled personnel in the Soviet Union for foreign countries has important significance in the history of international relations; it serves as one more example of the mutual relations based on equal rights which the Soviet Union maintains with the developing and fraternal states.

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S. BLAMED FOR GRENADIAN COUP, BISHOP'S DEATH

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 34, 22 Aug 84 p 14

[Article by Leonid Pochivalov: "For the Same 30 Pieces of Silver: Maurice Bishop, Prime Minister of Grenada--Still Another Victim of the International Terrorism of the United States"]

[Text] We did not have the occasion to see him in person. On the day on which we set foot on the shore of Grenada, Bishop was in Bulgaria--this was his first foreign mission of prime minister. We only saw his portraits--with his open face, the high forehead of a thinker, the strong look illuminated, it seemed, with light, he reminded one of Che Guevara. Those who killed Bishop believed that they eliminated the leader of the Grenadian revolution. They made a severe mistake. They killed the man. The leader remained at duty. Maurice Bishop and his image lead his people as before, and the mortal bullet that entered his heart made his name even more alive--and for years to come. The authority of Bishop was high not only in Grenada, but also in all the islands of the Caribbean Sea, in Central and Latin America, and I am convinced that his name will become legendary. Even now, under the heel of the occupants, the Grenadians openly mourn over his death and, remembering him, say, as before: "Our Maurice". The struggle with the chronic scourge of Grenada--unemployment, medical assistance free of charge, general education, the struggle against illiteracy, the allotment of the lands of the peasants, the involvement of the masses in the decision of the fate of the country, the stabilization of the economy, and, finally, the--for small Grenada grandiose--national construction of a civilian airport with the assistance of Cuba: It opened up the road to Grenadian beaches for foreign tourists. The country had an acute need for foreign exchange for the realization of its economic plans, which should transform Grenada into an island of happy people.

Bright and talented leaders, who enjoy broad authority among the masses, always find ill-wishers among those who are close by. Mediocrity is envious. And such a thing does not escape the attention of the imperialist agency. On the shelves of the chief of the Central Intelligence Agency Casey there is a multitude of files kept on every slightest visible leader of states or movements, who for one reason or another call forth the alarm of the United States.

Before the events in Grenada, the necessary files were taken from the shelves and put on the table. To brief the killers.

Conducting research in the Caribbean Sea, the Vityaz' [Champion] came to Grenada. We, the crew members of the Vityaz', were overcome with pride: We were among the first Soviet people to set foot on Grenadian soil! At that time, troubled Washington more and more energetically pressed the buttons of its propaganda, "reliable" reports began to appear in the American press about the penetration of Russians in Grenada, about Russian military specialists who were training the Grenadian army numbering a thousand people. But we knew very well that all of this was nonsense, that we will not meet a single one of our compatriots on the island. There was not even a Soviet embassy there yet.

From afar the capital of the island, the city of St. Georges, looked like a city of happy people. As if the dream of Bishop and his comrades had already been realized. Under the tiled roofs of the small city, under the crowns of palm trees, it seemed, peace, prosperity and calm reigned. But this was only how it seemed. There was no peace on this fantastic island. There was alarm in the eyes of the Grenadians who were looking out to the sea. They expected an attack. They told us about the alarm during a meeting in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We were received by Bernard Coard, the deputy prime minister. In the reception room a large, bearded man sat behind the table. In his unhurried speech, every word was weighed. He told about the intrigues of the United States against Grenada, about an attempted coup against the government. "This is handiwork of the CIA," said Coard. I was surprised that he did not mention a word about the significance of the first foreign minister, and when I asked about this, Coard did not answer my question directly and changed the subject.

Western propaganda now "rolls" the following version which suits Washington: Bishop wanted to pursue a policy that was independent of the Soviets. Coard and Austin are henchmen of Moscow, orthodox Marxists, and on the instructions of Moscow, they say, they eliminated Bishop. In order to whitewash itself, Washington lies. Bishop talked about the Soviet Union as a great friend, whom little Grenada had found. On his initiative, an embassy in Moscow was opened as one of the first representations abroad of the new Grenada. I was present at the meeting with the first ambassador of Grenada in the USSR, Jacobson. The ambassador said: "The situation is difficult. Every day we are expecting hostile actions on the part of America. Its hatred for the government of Bishop is boundless." The English journalist Hugh O'Shaughnessy, in the newspaper OBSERVER, confirmed this in his publication. He wrote: "The unwillingness of Bishop to follow the policy of Washington infuriated the United States, and, according to the assessment of British official circles, this fury reached the state of paranoia when Grenada established close relations with Cuba and the USSR."

"There is nothing surprising in the fact that the relations of the government of M. Bishop with the United States from the very beginning have a strained character," noted the journal NATION, which is published in New York.

People in Washington soon understood that the continuation of the policy of censure of the new regime in Grenada, initiated already by Carter, was ineffective. Reagan was inclined to be more decisive. He declared a political and economic boycott of Grenada, diversions began on the island--the best

hotels were burned down, which provided considerable income to the country. But Bishop and his government were chosen as the chief target. Washington decided to eliminate the leaders of the revolution. "The CIA for a long time studied the question of the overthrow of Maurice Bishop," wrote the English journal ECONOMIST. The first attempt was undertaken during a national holiday, when a bomb suddenly exploded that had been placed under the platform on which Bishop was to have appeared. "In Grenada the conviction is expressed that the CIA was involved in the terrorist act in June of the past year, when an attempt was undertaken to physically eliminate the highest leadership of the country--an attempt which miraculously did not succeed," wrote the English newspaper GUARDIAN.

In St. Georges I saw people's patrols, which protected the coast against scouts who might penetrate from the side of the sea. But the people of CIA chief Casey did not have to steal through in secret. Casey's men arrived in Grenada officially with passports of United States citizens. Not far from St. Georges, a medical college is located, where American students were studying under American teachers. I met them in the streets of the cities and on the beaches. Some of them looked at the Vityaz' during open house day. An elderly policeman, with whom I got acquainted in the port, having trained his eyes on an ordinary American couple going to the Vityaz', smiled: "They are also interested. Only in what?--And he advised: "You look after them there. They have their interest."

Bishop and the people loyal to him understood that the island was full of agents of the CIA, that at the college there were quite a few physicians who were ready for a great blood-letting. This was revealed very soon. The journal NEWSWEEK mentioned such a "student-physician", who turned out to be a former consul of the United States in Laos. During the aggression he coordinated by radio the disembarkation of the occupants ashore.

As the American journal COVERT ACTION confirms, Bishop guessed that CIA agents were even in the midst of his associates, he even had suspicions in regard to very definite individuals. In order to overthrow the government of Bishop, "CIA agents penetrated into the very top of the DZhUEL [New Jewel Movement]," Allan Rain and Bill Sharp propose in the journal COVERT ACTION.

This is not an unsubstantiated conviction. It is corroborated by many facts, which have now become a matter of public knowledge. Shortly before the events in Grenada, the NEW YORK TIMES cautiously reported a meeting of Casey with the members of the Senate Committee on Intelligence. The subject of discussion was the level of CIA participation in actions to destabilize the Bishop government. A report also flashed through the American press that some members of Congress had been informed ahead of time by a representative of the Pentagon about the plans with respect to Grenada.

The aggression was prepared ahead of time. Along all lines. Plans were developed for the disembarkation of naval infantry and airborne landings, and the infiltration of agents. This was done on a large scale and thoroughly.

As was reported by the press, American instructors were sent to Barbados to train a Barbados detachment which took part in the seizure of Grenada. Special

hired killers were trained, selected from among criminals. For every killed leader of Grenada, they were promised 30,000 dollars. For some reason, the figure 30 appears often in affairs of that time ever since the time of Judas. It is entirely possible that someone among them did earn his dollars, having aimed the muzzle of an automatic at the chest of the prime minister, who had been taken prisoner, in a courtyard in Fort Rupert.

When the American aggressors entered Grenada, Reagan habitually lied, having said: "This was a necessary measure", that the sudden disturbances in St. Georges compelled him to order the army of the United States to come to the defense of American citizens located in Grenada. In actual fact, Reagan was briefed on these long-planned "sudden disturbances". And now, when many facts of the preparation of the aggression have become known, the "regret" of the President of the United States on the occasion of the death of the prime minister of an independent state looks blasphemous.

The President personally forced the situation of hatred around Grenada. Appearing on television in March of the preceding year, Reagan declared that Grenada is a direct threat to the security of the United States. In confirmation of his great presidential alarm, he showed the television viewers photographs taken by a man-made spy satellite. In the photograph, the take-off and landing strips of Grenada's airport were imprinted, which were built by the Cubans jointly with. . . English and Dutch firms. The theatrical show put on by the president was impressive for the man in the street. But the individual thinking to the slightest extent was perplexed: Why photograph the airport from a satellite when any American citizen out of a thousand located in Grenada can simply photograph it from one of the neighboring hills?

The study of the events of this fatal day indicates the planned-in-advance organization of these events. The goal was obvious: To physically eliminate Bishop and his most loyal comrades-in-arms, to dramatize still further the events through firing at a demonstration, in order to stain with innocent blood the pure banner of the Grenadian revolution, and now use it immediately as a pretext for the invasion. And they did act in accordance with a scheme worked out beforehand. Apparently the scheme was hammered out in Washington more than once. Many who observed what happened on that fateful day were struck by the clear sequence of actions--the arrest of Bishop, the organization of the demonstration of young people, the liberation of Bishop, the immaculately planned meeting, the dispatch of Bishop to Fort Rupert, the summoning of armored cars there, the secret execution of the prime minister and his comrades, the removal of the bodies of the executed in an unknown direction (the bodies have not been found to this day). And in conclusion--the still bloodier finale of the tragedy, savage in its senselessness: The firing at the crowd. There could not be an accident here. The conspiracy is evident. And it was not the opponents of Bishop among his associates who carried it out. If they really did long for power, the slaughter committed in cold blood was not in their interest. It was not dictated by necessity. The situation did not require the use of arms. The opponents of Bishop knew very well that the Americans will there and then make use of any disturbances on the island. Thus, in these conditions it was impossible to even think about a seizure of power. And this is how the circumstances are assessed by the minister of justice in Bishop's government, who survived, one of the closest

associates of the deceased prime minister, Radix. He said: CIA agents for sure penetrated the Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement. Otherwise it is impossible to explain the complete absence of common sense in the actions of Bishop's opponents on the fatal day of the murder. No, this was not the coup of an "orthodox grouping", as some American newspapers assert. The coup was organized by the CIA and carried out by CIA officers, and the enemies of Bishop in the government and party played the role of extras in it--in terms of foolishness, irresponsibility or cowardice.

Facts are now appearing in the world press which are impossible to ignore. It is reported that the order to open fire on the demonstrators was given by the officer Konrad Myers, who earlier served in the United States Army and was in the garrison of West Berlin. Hugh O'Shaughnessy wrote about this. He noted that the operation with respect to the seizure of Grenada "was nurtured in secret in the State Department and Pentagon, where over the course of 4½ years they searched for a way of doing away with Bishop."

And here those who committed the murderous attack against the small country, who steeped their hands in the blood of hundreds upon hundreds of killed and wounded Grenadians, organized a trial of the assassins of the prime minister and his comrades-in-arms. If they really found the assassins, then not only the Grenadians being accused should sit next to them in the dock, but above all the Americans--from the ordinary agents to their high superiors. The responsibility for the crime rests primarily on the shoulders of the Washington Administration. According to the laws of the United States, the organizers of the crime are subject to punishment almost as severe as that of its perpetrators. It goes without saying that there is no direct evidence. The direct evidence is concealed in Washington under seven seals--orders, resolutions, visa. . . . The evidence is only circumstantial. But there is enough of it for any court in order for the jury to bring in the verdict: "Guilty". This would not surprise anyone. In a country where the CIA organizes the assassination of its own presidents, the planning of political assassinations in other countries is a simple matter.

Basing himself on convincing facts, Fidel Castro declared in completely definite terms: The assassination of Maurice Bishop is on the conscience of the American government.

The Administration of the United States is guilty. Guilty of the overthrow of the government of Grenada, the villainous murder of its leaders, guilty of firing at the demonstration and all further events committed by military intervention, when the iron machine of the American Army rolled over the quiet tropical island, crushing and mutilating the innocent.

And after all of this, the aggressors, with the aid of their puppets, plan to put somebody on trial! The former procurator general of the British Crown on the island, Anthony Rushford, who as the result of disagreements with the former authorities in Grenada sent in his resignation, "expressed doubt in regard to the chances of a jury's solving this case with justice and objectivity." This was reported by the Cuban journal BOHEMIA.

The court trial was twice postponed. "The trial is taking place behind closed doors," Western information agencies wrote, "journalists, even American journalists are not being admitted." Parts of the occupiers and their puppet armed formations on the island are ready for battle. Of whom are they afraid? Of the people, naturally. Even such a small people as the Grenadian people appears dangerous to them. Not long ago, Loren Jenkins wrote in the newspaper WASHINGTON POST about the situation on the island and the frame of mind of its inhabitants: "The inhabitants of Grenada are beginning to ask themselves the question: "Who will rescue us from our rescuers?"

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN CONSIDERED

Possible Influences on Voters

LD Moscow Television Service in Russian 2013 GMT 26 Oct 84

[From "The World Today" program presented by Vladimir Dunayev]

[Text] In exactly 3 weeks time, on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November in a leap-year, elections will be held in the United States. In this leap year this first Tuesday after the first Monday falls on 6 November.

Reagan's chances are considered not only more favorable, the opinion polls' statistics are handing him the White House in advance, as they say. True, in the first of the series of television debates Mondale clearly outstripped Reagan. The second television debate, this time on foreign policy, is to take place on Sunday in Kansas City and the Democrats consider that Mondale will do even better because the President's positions on international affairs are considerably more vulnerable than on the economy. However, Reagan is still considerably ahead of Mondale.

By the way the television discussion which took place in Philadelphia between Vice President George Bush and the candidate for that post Geraldine Ferraro was considered by the U.S. observers to have ended with an equal score, but Bush is considered to be slightly ahead. However, the Democratic Party is now pinning on the first woman to be put forward by a major party for the post of vice president its hopes for the unexpected to happen, for a miracle which will refute all the advance speculations. [Video shows clip of Ferraro-Bush debate]

But the situation is such that even in Mondale's home state of Minnesota 3 weeks before the elections, Reagan is ahead. But if women deliver a surprise, if the millions of Afro-Americans who usually do not vote turn up at the polling stations, in other words if the negro ghetto and the Puerto Rican ghetto vote then a sensation is possible. If. It is difficult now to predict whether this will happen.

Economists explain that the present vast, elephantine budget deficit is a guarantee of an approaching crisis, inescapably causing a sharp increase in taxes and a general rise in the cost of living. But will these alarming forecasts get through to the millions? [Video shows still of press cartoon showing wave about

to break on Washington] UPI has just reported from Washington that official figures have just been made public saying that output of industrial production in the United States fell by 0.6 percent in September. This is a serious fall. The first after 21 months in which the index rose. It is not difficult to understand what this means. It means a backward movement. Perhaps it will make a considerable show before the elections. But will people open their eyes in time or will this happen only after the elections?

And there is one more unknown in the election equation; what role will be played by international problems? By tradition the U.S. elections are decided by the purse, the family budget, taxes, employment and the inflation rate. The world situation in the nuclear age has never been so threatening and alarming. This time foreign policy might become one of the primary problems. Then this will be expressed in millions of votes against the arms race, for a freeze on nuclear arsenals.

The replies to these questions will be given by the election.

'Personalities' Not Important

LD210246 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 21 Oct 84

[Text] We continue with "Moscow Viewpoint" by Valentin Zorin. Here's what he writes:

The presidential elections are attracting attention in the Soviet Union just as much as in the United States. However the Soviet people are not so interested in finding out which of the competing candidates will serve the next term as president but rather what policies the Republican and Democratic candidates are promising to follow upon election. Some American Commentators would have their audiences believe that Moscow would be glad to see the Republican president lose the election. In actual fact the Soviet Union does not attach so much importance to the party affiliation of the future president. True the policies of the Reagan administration have come under a great deal of criticism in this country but we do not believe that it is personalities that matter so much. We remember clearly that a transition from the easing of tensions to confrontation began long before Mr Reagan assumed office.

We remember how the SALT II treaty signed by Mr Carter was shelved, and how the propaganda campaign over false reports about a Soviet brigade in Cuba led to what amounted to a violation of an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States. At the time the present opponent of Mr Reagan wielded a great deal of clout in Washington and we do not entertain any illusions on that score.

Now as far as any attempts at forecasting who will win the November elections are concerned, it is very dangerous I believe to regard it in an economic situation versus the war danger context. And that is how it has been viewed in this election campaign. The Republican campaigners have been emphasizing the improvement in the economic situation in the expectation that the emphasis on the problem of the war danger by the Democrats would not duly [as heard] impress voters.

It seems to me that it is entirely wrong to confront economic problems with the problems of the war danger because they are related to each other. The outsized budget deficit brought about above all by huge military spending is a time bomb. The improvement in the economic situation in the circumstances does not appear to be a lasting one and can be reversed at any moment. It is hardly likely that the American voters would do better if they face economic problems after the election and not before it.

But that is not the most important thing. The world is faced with a monstrous threat. Mankind sits on a thermo nuclear keg which if it goes off will surely wipe out life on the planet. The nuclear arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union number over 60,000 bombs and warheads capable of killing 80 billion human beings or 20 times the present world population. The enormous overkill [word indistinct] is a grim reality of the day. The use of nuclear weapons will also wipe out the ozone layer in the atmosphere which protects all life against the deadly ultra violet radiation of the sun. It will lead to a catastrophic lowering of the temperature and a nuclear winter which no living thing will be able to survive.

What is the point of talking of economic prosperity if a nuclear war can render the entire planet lifeless? Statesmen today bear a colossal responsibility incomparable to the responsibility borne by those before them at any time in history and that is why the 1984 presidential elections in the United States are indeed highly significant.

CSO: 1807/53

INTERNATIONAL

ANTI-ZIONIST COMMITTEE 12 OCTOBER PRESS CONFERENCE REPORTED

WA221548 Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 15 Oct 84 pp 1-4

[TASS item: "Criminal Alliance of Zionism and Nazism: A Press Conference of the Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion"]

[Text] A press conference of the Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion was held at the press centre of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on October 12 to expose the criminal cooperation of the Zionists with the nazis and the use by the present rulers of Israel of methods borrowed from the Nazi arsenal. It was noted at the press conference that exposure of the alliance of Zionism with nazism and their affinity is a topical task of the progressive forces of the world.

In his opening speech Colonel General D. A. Gragunskiy, twice Hero of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Committee, noted that all honest people of our planet are preparing to mark a date of world historic significance--the 40th anniversary of the Victory over Hitlerite nazism. But today the historic truth is not to the liking and benefit of some.

The leaders of Zionism, who have actively joined the "crusade" against the USSR and its allies, make great efforts to asperse the policy of real socialism, its achievements and its services to mankind, and for this purpose falsify many events of history and of the present day.

Forgetting the decisive role of the Soviet Union and its armed forces in the rout of Nazi Germany and the fact that the victory of the Soviet Union saved the Jewish population of the European countries from complete annihilation, the ideologists of Zionism try to belittle the significance of the victory of the Soviet people over Hitlerite Germany.

The anti-historic interpretation of the essence of genocide which was perpetrated by the nazis lies first of all in the fact that the annihilation of millions of people is portrayed by the Zionists not as an actual embodiment of the misanthropic ideology and policy of German nazism but as the culmination of "age-long anti-Semitism."

But the ideologists of Zionism have one more reason for which they try to conceal the real events linked with the struggle of progressive mankind against

Hitlerite nazism. We are talking about the irrefutable facts of cooperation between the Zionists and nazis.

On the other hand, having decided to pursue the policy of genocide in respect to the Slavs, Jews and other European nations, the Nazis also sought accomplices. The Zionists were among those they had found. There are some documents containing irrevocable proof of the criminal alliance between the Nazis and the Zionists.

Journalists were shown numerous archive documents, including those found quite recently. One of these was a secret agreement concluded in 1933 between a British-Palestinian bank controlled by a Jewish agency and the Nazi economic ministry. The deal provided for investing a considerable portion of the capital belonging to the big Jewish bourgeoisie in Germany in Zionist enterprises in Palestine. Between 1933 and 1938 Nazi Germany netted about 50 million dollars worth of profit from the deal.

Of special interest were some archive documents shown to those attending the press conference and proving that Zionist organizations had been involved with Gestapo, Hitler's secret police.

The immeasurable guilt of the Zionists, the Nazi underlings, to the victims of the fascist genocide was also in that they urged obedience to and cooperation with the Hitler regime and by so doing weakened unity in the overall drive to oppose the Nazi. The Zionists who headed the so called Jewish Councils, the bodies of genocide created by the Nazis, participated in selecting victims for murder. In a bid to save themselves and their followers, the Zionists turned into Gestapo agents to have had a hand in the mass annihilation of many thousands of Jews murdered by the Nazi.

Numerous facts were presented at the press conference, indicating that the leaders of US Zionist organisations and the official leadership of international Zionist centres had deliberately and for a long time kept mum about the murder of millions of Jews during World War II.

As far back as the beginning of 1942, the Soviet government informed the world public with utmost authenticity about the facts of the atrocities, specifically, about the scope and character of nazi genocide against the Jewish population of Europe.

Some foreign public figures were among the participants in the press conference.

Italian historian M. Massara spoke about the ideological sources of close co-operation between the Zionists and Italian fascists. He pointed out that the similarity of the principles of Zionism and fascism is based on their common hatred of Marxism and communism.

Speaking at the press conference, M. Lohikoski (Finland), a member of the International Commission of Inquiry into Israeli Crimes against the Lebanese and Palestinian Peoples, provided proofs confirming the use of typically Nazi methods by Israeli aggressors.

"The professing of racism inherent in Zionist ideology is turning into the everyday practice of state-sponsored terrorism," M. Lohikoski said. He worked as a journalist in Lebanon during the Israeli aggression in the summer of 1982.

Swedish physician J. Takman, a member of the International Commission of Inquiry into Israeli Crimes, spoke about the guilt of Israel's Zionist rulers who practice genocide.

The participants in the press conference spoke with indignation about the growing threat of the fascistization of political life in Israel. The election of M. Kahane, a ringleader of Zionist terroristic gangs, to the Knesset (Parliament) is symptomatic of the development of Israeli society, the speakers noted.

(TASS)

(PRAVDA, October 13. In full.)

CSO: 1812/23

INTERNATIONAL

JAPAN SAID TO CONSIDER JOINING NATO

LD070637 Moscow World Service in English 1510 GMT 6 Oct 84

[Text] Director General of the Japanese Defense Agency Yuko Kurihara recently visited Washington and a number of West European members of NATO. Comments by Valdirmir Korolev:

What was the subject of discussions on the Japanese official's tour? The mass media offer an unequivocal answer. Japan long ago became involved in the United States militarist aggressive policy. Now, apparently, Japan is considering becoming the 16th member of the NATO bloc. It's obvious that Washington is promoting Tokyo's interest in NATO. It's no accident that Yuko Kurihara set off for Western Europe right after talks in Washington.

The United States Administration has every reason for involving Japan in NATO affairs. The bloc, run by the United States, has been trying for a long time to extend its sphere of so-called interests far beyond the borders of Europe. After all, that was the purpose in installing United States Nuclear cruise missiles in Sicily because the missiles could reach targets in Northern Africa, the Middle East, and the Persian Gulf. Not only ruling circles in the United States but other NATO countries, too, have lustful eyes set on this oil-rich region.

Japan so far has been given a rather modest role in plans of the West to build up military presence in the Persian Gulf, but, in Washington and the NATO Headquarters in Brussels, the strategists are working on plans for Japan to do everything involved in maintaining Western military presence in the Pacific if American military contingents and weaponry are transferred from the Far East to the Persian Gulf. That is precisely why, in Washington and the other NATO capitals, the Japanese emissary is being urged to get Japanese armed forces ready as quickly as possible to take control over sea lanes in the 1,000-mile zone off the shores of Japan. United States Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger is telling the Japanese not to spare their money to increase their army's might, and in Bonn Kurihara is being told he can buy the latest in weapons. All that is clearly tempting to the Japanese militarists. It's no wonder that chauvinist and revenge-seeking groups are increasingly demanding revisions in the final decisions made at the end of World War II.

One can't help seeing the historical parallel when watching Japan being included in various militarists axes and trilateral alliances organized by the United

States, such as the regional bloc of Washington-Tokyo-Seoul or the global alliance of the United States-Western Europe-Japan. One can't help remembering the destruction, suffering, and death that Japanese militarism brought to the nations that it attacked in World War II and the tragic fate of Hiroshima and Nagasaki turned to ashes by American atom bombs.

CSO: 1812/18

INTERNATIONAL

ERITREAN SEPARATISTS' FAILURE TO DISRUPT SOCIETY CLAIMED

Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by E. Babazade, Novosti Press Agency correspondent: "New Homes in Asmera"]

[Excerpts] Addis Abeba--I had not been in Asmera for seven years; this made it all the more interesting to visit the once "half-dead" city, in which due to a lack of fuel, electrical power and raw materials the Asmara TETs [heat and electric power plant] and nearly half of its 70 largest enterprises were out of operation.

In the 60's and 70's of this century various separatist organizations and groups based in the province attempted to tear Eritrea away.

According to data from the Ethiopian magazine YEKATIT, during the period from 1961 through 1977 more than 13,000 soldiers and officers and more than 33,000 local residents, including children, old men and women, were killed by the separatists. Under the influence of reactionary propaganda, nearly 200,000 residents of the province left homes which they had occupied for many years.

There have been many changes in Asmera. From the peak of Abba Shaul, the highest point in the city, one can see blocks of newly erected buildings, the silhouettes of cranes at construction sites for factories and plants. One is struck by the changed street names. There are no American Avenues, Italian Vias or English Streets. The squares and streets which once were named for crown princes, emperors, princes and landowners have disappeared. One of the central streets is named in honor of a hero of the Second Ethiopian-Italian war, Lieutenant Colonel Belaya Khayleaba. He fell prisoner to the Italian black shirts in 1936 and refused to cooperate with them, preferring death to perfidy.

"And how many unnamed heroes have died in the struggle against the separatists," says Colonel Assefa Kebede, a political worker. "But each of them lives in the hearts of the people. Separatism

brought the country much grief and suffering. But already we can say that as a result of the decisive measures taken by the government, this movement has been virtually eliminated."

"In recent years tens of thousands of people who at one time fled into the depths of the country from the barbarous acts of the separatists have returned to their native places," the mayor of Asmera, Doctor Afevork Berkhane, adds to the conversation. "In addition, the population has grown with the addition of those who have been granted amnesty by the government, that is, with those who have put the past aside forever and are working with the Ethiopian people to build a new society. In accordance with the decisions of the 2d Congress of the Committee for the Organization of a Party of the Workers of Ethiopia (COPWE), the main task now is to strengthen the peace and stability in Eritrea and to further develop its economic potential."

"In Asmera at the present time", the mayor continues, "women's, youth and trade union organizations are in operation at all enterprises and institutions. About 20 state and private hospitals and more than 100 polyclinics in the province have been fully restored and renovated. The city's industrial facilities now produce more than they did in 1974, before the start of the revolution. In the last two years more than 250 homes for workers and state employees, as well as two major health care centers, new schools and kindergartens have been built in Asmera."

"Incidentally," notes Doctor Afevork, "50 percent of our city's population consists of children aged 6 to 18, and we are proud that half of them attend school every day."

My new friends decided to show me the new buildings of Asmera. In the southeast part of the city, where clay shacks formerly crowded together as if mocking the name given by the Italians--"paradiso" or "paradise"--the construction of four blocks of residential buildings is nearing completion. Orrade Abbay, head of the construction zone, explains: "The buildings are being put up with funds appropriated by the municipality."

"In five months, says Orrade, we hope to receive the new settlers. These buildings are convincing proof that people feel much more confident. They know that they will not have to abandon their homes and property again."

As I say farewell to the construction workers, I cast a glance at the building site. On a rather short pedestal, where once a granite Haile Selassie, emperor of Ethiopia, once stood, an enormous red star made of metal shines brightly in the sun...

8543

CSO: 1807/11

INTERNATIONAL

AFGHAN INSURGENTS' 'STRUGGLE FOR FAITH' QUESTIONED

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 14 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by A. Sukhoparov, APN [Novosti Press Agency] correspondent: "A 'Struggle for the Faith' or Banditry?"]

[Text] In the kishlak [Central Asian village] of Shulgary they surrounded the local girls' school, broke into the class-rooms where classes were being held, and, before the eyes of the terrified girl pupils, built bon-fires from broken desks and textbooks. Five girls, whose only "guilt" consisted in the fact that they were teaching people how to read and write within the program of courses to eliminate illiteracy, were killed on the spot. Two of their girlfriends were taken by force by the bandits into the mountains. It was only several days later that the inhabitants of Shulgary found these girls, exhausted, hardly alive from beatings and hunger, half-crazed by what they had experienced....

This and many other crimes were committed by the counter-revolutionary band, headed by Abdul Kuddus, and this was irrefutably proven during the course of an open trial, which recently was concluded in Kabul. The documents gathered by the investigation, eyewitnesses' testimony, and the depositions by the leader and his henchmen allowed the tracing of the bloody path taken by the "fighters for the faith," who operated in the northern Afghan province of Balkh.

The leader of this band, Abdul Kuddus, nicknamed "Kal" (which means "Baldy"), just four years ago was a wagon-driver, delivering products from the surrounding kishlaks to the bazaars of Mazari-Sharif--the center of Balkh Province. Since he believed the counter-revolutionary propaganda about the "threat to Islam in Afghanistan," Kuddus abandoned his peaceful occupation and soon turned up in Iran. In Tehran he became a member of the Afghan counter-revolutionary organization known as the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan." Covering itself with hypocritical declarations about their "struggle for the faith," this group set as its goal the restoration in the country of the old, semi-feudal order, which had doomed the Afghan people to inequity, hunger, and illiteracy. Weapons and funds for carrying on diversionary activities against the DRA [Democratic Republic of Afghanistan] were obtained by the leaders of the "Islamic Society" through secret channels from the CIA, as well as from reactionary circles in Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and several other countries.

In 1980 Abdul Kuddus was moved into Afghanistan at the head of a gang of 25 persons, many of whom had gone through military training under foreign instructors in Iran. The bloody orgy in Shulgary was their first test of strength.

Then there followed innumerable robberies of peasants, highway robberies, murders, attacks on rural farms and cooperatives, burnings of schools and hospitals, diversions on electric-power transmission lines. After committing such a crime, the band would separate or go into remote mountain gorges.

In 1981, when they were dividing up their plunder, a dispute arose within the gang, and it ended in a furious fight. The leader with six of his closest henchmen fled, having seized the plunder. For several months he concealed himself not only from the government troops and the people's militia but also from the co-participants in his crimes. Then "Baldy" went into the service of other "standard-bearers of Islam," from the counter-revolutionary, terrorist organization known as the "Movement of the Islamic Revolution."

However, it was becoming increasingly more difficult for Abdul Kuddus and those under him to operate. Everywhere throughout the province self-defense detachments began to be created; they organized protection for settlements, roads, and bridges. Together with units of the regular army and the militia, peasants, artisans, and workers began making regular round-ups of the bandits.

Finally, in December of last year, the gang was surrounded in the village of Divali, and 38 counter-revolutionaries, led by Kuddus, were arrested. A large amount of weapons and other equipment of American, Chinese, and Egyptian manufacture was seized from them. A camera was discovered on Kuddus with several rolls of film which had already been shot. The photographs which were developed and printed from these films, and which became important substantial evidence at the trial, show the truly sadistic cruelty of the so-called "fighters for the faith."

These crimes became possible, and this was convincingly proved at the trial, thanks to the generous military, financial, and political aid of the bandits' foreign sponsors, above all, from the United States. It was not by chance that the newspaper WASHINGTON POST, in quoting staff members of the U.S. Congress, pointed out the following: "The operation in Afghanistan is possibly the largest of the CIA's operations after which comes financing the forces of the 'Contras,' which are fighting against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua." The scope of Washington's interference in the DRA's internal affairs may be judged by the decision of the U.S. Senate to approve an allocation during the current fiscal year of an additional 50 million dollars to render aid to the Afghan counter-revolution.

...The court in Kabul sentenced Abdul Kuddus and 13 other bandits to the death penalty, while the others were given lengthy prison terms. This trial once again has demonstrated the true face of the Afghan counter-revolution, of those on whom Washington is staking its bet in the undeclared war against the DRA.

2384

CSO: 1807/24

INTERNATIONAL

AFGHAN CLERGYMAN MEETS SOVIET IRANOLOGISTS

NC1710137 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1700 GMT 16 Oct 84

[Unattributed report]

[Text] Soviet Orientologists met with 'Abdol Vali Hojjat, director of the Department of Islamic Affairs affiliated with the DRA Ministerial Council, at the Hall of Friendship with Foreign Nations in Moscow.

This meeting was attended by Soviet Iranologists such as Artyun Arabegian, head of the Iranology Branch of the Institute of Oreintology of the Soviet Academy of Sciences; Professor Roman Aframovich, director of the Institute of Asian and African Countries affiliated with the University of Moscow; Professor Anvar Aliyev, honorary doctor of the University of Tehran; and Soviet Historians Saleh Aliyev, Nina Kuznetsova, Yelena Darushenko, and Marina [name indistinct], as well as Persian language students of the Soviet Union.

Gennaiddiy Abdiyev, secretary in charge of the Soviet-Iranian and Soviet-Afghan Friendship and Cultural Relations societies explained in his opening speech the formation and organization of societies of friendship and cultural relations with foreign countries, and pointed out these societies' duties in the consolidation of good-neighborly relations and in the expansion of cultural relations between neighboring countries. He also stressed that the Soviet Union's social circles express great interest in the life, history, culture, and social and economic developments of this region.

Professor Roman Aframovich then spoke in detail about the history of Islam and stated that Islam is the world religion with the most followers in the countries of the Near East, Africa, and Southeast Asia. A portion of the population of the Soviet Union's Central Asian republics, of the Caucasus and Northern Caucasus, and of some parts of the RSFSR are followers of Islam. Professor Aframovich pointed out that the Great October Socialist Revolution eradicated illiteracy, backwardness, and national oppression and paved the way for the nations of the eastern Soviet Union to receive education and culture. At the same time, the Soviet Union's constitutional law ensured the freedom of religion and the right to profess any religion, including Islam. Professor Roman Aframovich, who fought during the Soviet people's great national war against fascism, recalled that during the years of war against German fascism, both

communists and non-party members, and both followers and non-followers of a religion, united and rose to defend the homeland. Professor Aframovich ended his speech by saying that on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet People's victory over Hitler's Germany and at a time when the threat of nuclear war has cast its shadow over the world, universal peace is of extreme importance for the followers of all religions and for people of any color.

Professor Aliyev explained in his speech that Soviet social circles attach great importance to the part played by progressive religious dignitaries such as 'Abdol Vali Hojjat, winner of the Soviet-Afghan state prize, in the consolidation of the bases of peace and detente. He then stressed that many contemporary Islamic movements play a truly positive role in the development and progress of their nations. At the same time, Islam is sometimes used as an ideological fulcrum for reaction. Thus, it is important to understand which social forces are hiding behind the veil of Islamic slogans. Professor Aliyev then said that the entire world knows that the norms and rules of Islam are being used to assist the Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

In his speech during the meeting at the Hall of Friendship in Moscow, 'Abdol Vali Hojjat explained that counterrevolution in the DRA today is acting in the guise of defending Islam and is afflicting the people with destruction, death, and sorrow. The West's imperialist circles fan the flames of calumny on the threat against religion in Afghanistan and arm imperialist hirelings, who are sent into Afghanistan from abroad, with lethal weapons. But the Afghan people understand that the so-called mujahedin who burn and destroy mosques and who kill religious dignitaries and Muslims are not actually defenders of Islam but enemies of the April revolution and enemies of social and economic changes--changes that have given our people the right to own land and houses, and to work. 'Abdol Vali Hojjat then said: The Afghan people support the PDPA's policy and Babrak Karmal's government. The Afghan guest pointed out that all the progressive religious dignitaries in Afghanistan support the revolution. These dignitaries have been granted all the necessary conditions to work creatively and actively and they have been granted the full freedom to hold meetings and congresses. 'Abdol Vali Hojjat then said: Islam is a teaching of peace and fraternity, a teaching of nonintervention in the domestic affairs and sovereignty of other nations. He then spoke about his memories of the international congress of religious dignitaries for the preservation of the divine right to exist in this world, in which he participated. Such peaceful attempts by religious dignitaries of different sects pave the way for mutual better understanding and detente, and help toward the ideal of universal peace. In conclusion, 'Abdol Vali Hojjat said that the hospitality extended to him and his cordial meetings with the Soviet people once again assured him of the extent of sincerity in the Soviet people's attempts to assist developing countries and countries struggling for their independence.

Then Saleh Aliyev, doctor in history, spoke about the progress achieved in the field of Islamology in the Soviet Union, and pointed out that world-famous outstanding Soviet Orientologists such as Bartold, Krachkovskiy, Bertel, and [name indistinct] have laid a strong foundation for the theoretical, practical, and scientific analysis of Islam. It was also explained that Soviet Iranologists

publish many articles in magazines such as ASIAN AND AFRICAN NATIONS, ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, SCIENCE AND RELIGION, and the magazine of the Muslims of eastern Soviet Union. Among the books recently published by employees of the Iranology branch are: "Iran: Changes in the Formation and Organization of Economics" by Artyun Arabegian; "The Centralization of Production and Capital in Iran in the Sixties and Seventies" by Mohammadov; and "Iran in the First Half of the 19th Century" by Mrs Kuznetsova. The book by a group of authors entitled: "Iran: Past and Present" has gained wide popularity among book lovers and people interested in Eastern history. This book contains articles explaining Iran's national liberation movement, Iran's foreign economic relations, the political movements of Iranian students, and the Iranian people's religious traditions and customs.

After summarizing the outcome of the views exchanged, the participants at the meeting concluded that this meeting of scholars and religious dignitaries was of great importance in achieving further mutual better understanding, both politically and scientifically. All the participants agreed that the culture and the ethical mien of each nation stems, to a great extent, from past traditions and customs. However, the Orient today does not live solely with its past heritage. Today the most important factor for all people with goodwill and good intentions is not merely the fact that a certain country professes a certain religion; the most important factor is the establishment of lasting world peace and an active struggle against nuclear war. Both nonbelievers and those who follow a religion, including Islam, are uniting all their efforts to attain this lofty objective.

CSO: 4640/76

NATIONAL

BILLY GRAHAM INTERVIEWED BY LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 84 p 3

[Interview by I. Churin with Dr Billy Graham: "Peace For Future Generations..."]

[Text] The well known evangelist preacher, Doctor Billy Graham, is in our country at the invitation of the religious organizations of the USSR.

He arrived in Leningrad on Monday. The guest was greeted at the airport by the metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod, Antony, and by representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Baptist community of Leningrad. At the Piskarevskiy memorial cemetery, Billy Graham honored the memory of the soldiers and townspeople who died during the years of the Great Patriotic War. He laid a wreath at the monument of the Motherland.

During his stay in Leningrad, the American preacher spoke at meetings and discussions about the imperative need for immediate quests for peace and mutual understanding among peoples, responsible church officials and all men of good will in order to save life on earth from the threat of thermo-nuclear catastrophe.

Yesterday, as LenTASS reports, the guest was received by members of the Leningrad oblast committee for the defense of peace. Billy Graham visited the Leningrad religious academy and seminary. In the academy's assembly hall, he gave a speech on the current tasks of Christianity, emphasizing its peacemaking significance. In honor of the American guests, Metropolitan Antony of Leningrad and Novgorod gave a reception, in which the leaders of the religious communities of all the city's creeds participated. In the evening, Billy Graham and his companions attended services in the Leningrad evangelical Baptist Christian community.

Today, the religious leader from the USA leaves Leningrad for Tallinn.

On the eve of his departure, our correspondent held an interview with him.

[Question] Doctor Graham, this is not the first time that you have been in our country. What impressions do you have of your meetings with Soviet people, including those in Leningrad? What can you say about our city?

[Answer] My companions and I constantly feel a warm, fraternal good will and friendship radiating from you. We are glad to see those whom we have met on other occasions and are looking forward to the possibility of contacts with many other people in the course of our current visit.

We were just in Moscow, the great capital of the Soviet Union. Now I am here, in the second largest city of your immense country. I have been anticipating a visit to Leningrad for many years, as it is, of course, among the most historically important and beautiful cities in the world. Looking out of my window in the hotel, I see the Neva. There are very few cities on our earth that can pride themselves on that view. Everything is history here... Leningrad has maintained and continues to maintain world fame thanks to its historical monuments and buildings, as well as its unsurpassed collections of art.

I understand why Leningrad is called the cradle of the revolution: in 1917, the cruiser "Avrora" opened a new era for this country and for the whole world.

Leningrad is also well known as a symbol of courage. The 900 days of siege during the last war represent one of the most stirring pages of human courage in the annals of the history of mankind. Actually cut off from the outside world and surrounded by the huge enemy army, the people of Leningrad endured suffering, illness, famine, bombing and death on such a scale that it is almost inconceivable. The words "All for victory!" were the slogan of believers and non-believers alike. My visit to the Piskarevskiy memorial, in honor of the memory of those who gave their lives so that others might live, remains an unforgettable impression for me... I have shaken many hands here: those of whomever happened to be near us at that moment. And everyone replied to my handshake with a smile. I was happy - these were the smiles of friendship and peace. People were gracious to me...

There are no words with which it possible to describe fully the feelings that are overflowing in me. The sight of endless rows of simple gravestones speaks eloquently for the self-sacrifice and patriotism of the defenders of Leningrad, justly called the hero-city. This is a monument to the indomitable bravery and steadfastness of those who survived and conquered.

[Question] In your opinion, what does the struggle for peace mean under present conditions?

[Answer] So much... I am a believer, a Christian, and I consider that peace must be first of all in our hearts, in human hearts. This is peace among people and among peoples.

The Piskarevskiy memorial is not only a sobering monument for us to the past, but also a warning for the future. It reminds us of the death and destruction that every war inevitably brings. It is entirely possible that we are now living in the most dangerous time since the beginning of the history of mankind. For the first time, we possess the monstrous power to wipe civilization off the face of the planet in a nuclear or biochemical holocaust.

I am convinced that the Soviet Union and the United States are simply obligated to conduct serious discussions, central to which should be the global problem of the elimination of all types of weapons of mass destruction. If the nuclear button is ever pressed, a person will press it. The question of questions is a problem of the human heart. Without a change in hearts and minds, a firm resolution of the problem of war will not occur. Our leaders must take concrete and weighty steps to peace.

All of us must learn to accept each other on an equal basis and to work to live in peace, regardless of our differences. We must bequeath peace to future generations.

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NATIONAL

INVOLVEMENT OF FOREIGN TOURISTS IN NTS ACTIVITIES DECRIED

Leningrad VECHERNIY LENINGRAD in Russian 4, 5, 7 May 84

[Article by V. Grinin: "The Naked Kings' Couriers"]

[4 May 84 p 2]

[Text] During the more than six decades of its existence, the Soviet government has repeatedly had to do battle with an enemy to defend its independence and honor. Those who openly or secretly encroached on our social order or strove to destroy our great achievements, invariably suffered defeat. And the natural result is not to reverse the course of history and not to stop the progressive, triumphal procession of socialism.

However, those who are blinded by anti-communism seemingly, even today, do not want to learn history's lessons. Once again, a varicolored imperialist "array" gathered under the banner of recurrent "crusade."

In the psychological war now being waged against the countries of the socialist commonwealth even the so-called-Peoples' Labor Union (NTS), the malicious emigre organization whose "services" have been used by more than one Western intelligence service, has been assigned its role.

We call the readers' attention to the story concerning NTS's subversive activities against our countries. The facts being referred to to this day appear in the dossier of the NTS headquarters in Frankfurt am Main under the "handle" "successful operations." However, they have to be shifted to the category of flops--the Leningrad chekists took care of this.

In its April 6, 1983 edition, VECHERNYY LENINGRAD published a story on the hostile activities which landed NTS agents Yevgokimov, Dolinin, and Manilovich in court. They not only fabricated and sent to the West various "documents" containing unbridled slander about life in the Soviet Union, but even called

upon the leaders of anti-Soviet emigration to step up subversive work against our country and, further, gave them "practical advice" on how it should be done.

Sometime later, in the same room where that threesome gave their repentant interviews, yet another young man, against whom legal proceedings had also begun, appeared before some journalists.

This time a translator was necessary.

Attempting to maintain a condescending facade on his sleek closely-shaven face, the subject of our interview introduced himself. "I am Edward Cheek, an Englishman, 26 years old, trained as a philosopher and I work in London."

"What is the purpose of your trip to Leningrad?"

"I have come here for my first visit as part of a tour group."

Let us make it clear that although Edward Cheek came to our country with a tour group, he was certainly no tourist. He did not make any trips with the group but preferred to see the city in a particularly individual way. One day, carefully looking around, his face hidden behind a turned-up raincoat collar, he approached the entrance of a house which did not appear in any guidebook, and rang the doorbell he sought. There, in a typical Leningrad apartment, he was caught red-handed. A folder of leaflets and brochures calling for struggle with Soviet power, a letter with instructions written on cigarette paper hidden in a pack of chewing gum--these were the "accessories" of sabotage that together exposed Cheek as an NTS messenger.

In his responses to questions from the investigator, and later from journalists, Cheek attempted to pass himself off as some sort of naive pawn, saying that someone had asked him to deliver a package and that he had no idea what was in it.

With that, he "opened up" to say that he had been associated with the NTS in London for a long time and counted among his good friends Georgiy Miller, son of Boris Miller, a committed enemy of our country, NTS activist, and a member of the "secret section" of that anti-Soviet organization. Incidentally, Cheek was sent to the Soviet Union by this same "section" with the task of smuggling into the USSR emissaries whose job was to seek out moral degenerates, instill in them an anti-Soviet spirit, and under the "proper conditions," incite them to make statements against the existing regime in our country.

The Millers and their ilk believed that Cheek was ripe for this dirty assignment. He had received solid training in the spirit of anti-communism. This became clear from our conversation, during which he expounded on his "knowledge" of Soviet reality.

It is not difficult to imagine what kind of training he underwent with anti-Soviets like Miller. Posing as "champions of human rights," they surely did not initiate their recruit into the true meaning of NTS activities and did not acquaint him with the unpleasant pages of NTS "history." If Cheek only knew

that, from the moment of its inception in 1930, when it was still called "the National Union of Russian Youth", the NTS claimed to be an emigre organization with Fascist leanings. It prepared to carry out extremist acts in the USSR even to the point of using terror. At special "general technical training" classes, its members learned to use weapons and explosives and were familiarized with the fine points of espionage.

The World War II years provided a stimulus for moral enlightenment among many Russian emigres. But what of the "patriots" of the NTS? Encouraged, they immediately rushed to the aid of our bloody enemy. These same "consistent fighters" donned Hitler's dress coats, went to work for the Gestapo, and established themselves in the Fascists' reprisal units.

How did the "decent" Englishman, Edward Cheek, appraise this shameful past of his bosses? "I have never met Russian emigres in the West who hold reactionary views. You can classify my friends as a unique type of socialist," he announced, "And in general, Fascism is for me a page of history which I do not understand very well."

For some reason, the NTS has not wished to fill in the gaps in this "philosopher's" historical knowledge nor to acquaint him with the service record of certain of these "unique socialists"--for example, with the details of the life of a certain Ariadna Shirinkina, who now is involved in processing people who have left the Soviet Union. The daughter of a former Smolensk landowner and ex-White Guard, Shirinkina served during the war in Hitler's counterintelligence in occupied Bryansk and Orel. She betrayed members of the underground and partisans to the Gestapo. Later came German intelligence school, work with the Vlasovites, and, after the war, work for the American and West German intelligence services.

NTS glosses over these pages of its history when recruiting its couriers for "tourist" trips to the USSR. They fill them with cock and bull stories about "oppression" in our country, trying to incite feelings of distrust and enmity towards the Soviet people. And then follows the stage of direct training for carrying out "operations". Such training includes rote memorization of passwords and addresses and careful study of hidden approaches to meeting places.

Edward Cheek was trained in this very same way--literally like a hound for the hunt.

During the questioning, he told the interrogator how he spent the last minutes before his flight to the Soviet Union:

"In a London airport restroom before taking off, I hid the brochures in my pants, tying them to my shins with elastic stockings. I stuck the letter into my pants pocket because it was small."

Cheek could not hide from the journalists certain unusual circumstances surrounding his trip. At first he denied in every possible way the fact that his trip was subsidized "under the table." But then he blurted out anyway, "Anyone would have done just as I did if someone approached them and said,

'Pass on something to this address and you will have the opportunity to vacation at the same time'."

Well, Cheek bit off more than he could chew with his prediction as to how "anyone" (even in the West) would act. Only a few foreigners have agreed to associate themselves with the dirty affairs of these anti-Soviet emigres for the opportunity to "vacation at the same time."

The "philosopher" courier tried for a long time to convince us that he was chosen completely by accident...until he blurted out, "This is not altogether my first assignment." Immediately, having realized that he again broke the promise of silence he made to his bosses, Cheek stopped short and, clearly trying to avoid further questions, blurted out, "Could you take me to the restroom?"

During the short break, Cheek apparently regained his composure and decided to follow the orders of the NTS leaders more closely.

"Do you believe that one should observe the laws of the country to which he has come as a guest?"

"I recognize only laws which exist between peoples of all countries !!"

Cheek had carefully mastered the instructions on how to handle himself in case of "trouble." NTS couriers even before him tried to present their operations as actions "in the spirit of the Helsinki agreements". Moreover, some foreigners used in the same role as the "philosopher" Cheek were equipped with special letters "in case of detention" in which their mission was described as...a contribution to the cause of strengthening mutual understanding between peoples!

Our conversation with Edward Cheek lasted for more than three hours. Bidding us good-bye, Cheek said, "I, of course, have nothing against the Soviet people. And if unknowingly, I aided a cause directed against peace, I am sorry for it."

Out of humanitarian considerations, the Soviet authorities decided not to send Cheek before the courts, and limited themselves to expelling him from the country. It seemed that this was the end of the story. But that was not to be.

Western propoganda wanted to use the failure of the NTS courier to organize the next anti-Soviet show by presenting Cheek as a hero and great martyr. After a publicity session in London, he revealed to the journalists--this time British--the "horrors" he endured in Leningrad.

The next day the London TIMES made the compassionate hearts of the citizenry bleed: "Out of the 74 hours he was detained, Mr. Cheek spent 65 under interrogation!" "They interrogated Mr. Cheek for 15 hours running, with only a two-hour break for sleep!" "During these hours Mr. Cheek could not even sleep out of fear!" "They gave him food which was impossible to eat!"

We must turn now to the documents--the transcripts of the interrogations signed by the Englishman himself--where, among other things, the exact times of the interrogations are recorded, down to the minute. What do we find? In the three days, which Cheek was forced to spend, without a stroll around the city, he was indeed questioned several times by an interrogator, for a total of 17 hours, and not 65. And he did not sleep for only two hours a day. Nor did he refuse to eat. We asked him:

"Do you have any claims or remarks concerning your treatment during your detention?"

"No. They treated my quite properly," Mr. Cheek then answered.

Of course, the very fact that a tourist from London was forced to spend a few nights in other than a comfortable hotel room is an unpleasant occasion for him. But the law is the same for everyone. And no matter how the TIMES and the NTS, with its couriers, try to alter the laws of our country, they will not succeed.

Edward Cheek was not the only messenger smuggled into our city under the guise of a tourist. You will learn in our next edition about other "couriers" who, according to NTS headquarters, have operated successfully.

[5 May 84 p 2]

[Text] The failed mission of NTS courier Edward Cheek was the end of a string of events which began a few years ago far from the banks of the Neva in one of Stockholm's back streets. Located there is a small shop which sells books in foreign languages, including Russian. Only this stand is not so typical. They pay very close attention to Soviet sailors there. If a buyer should complain about high prices, he may be offered books for free, but only from a "special collection."

The collection's manager is a man who speaks fluent Russian. He introduces himself as "Alex" and leads the buyer into a separate room where the free goods are located. Why this all of a sudden? For books are by no means cheap in the West. But the reason for such generosity immediately becomes clear: the books are all from one series. All the authors are united in their hatred for the Soviet Union, and their "creations" are characterized by unbridled slander. At this point, the meeting between Alex and the sailors usually ends--the books are not needed and there is no demand for these filthy concoctions.

But from time to time, the "missionary" manager is lucky. Two Leningrad sailors not only allowed him to palm off a pair of booklets from the "collection," but even agreed to drop by his house. There Alex began to "open the eyes" of these sailors as to how bad life is in the Soviet Union.

He treated the guests to little cucumbers, pickled "Russian-style", which probably were not compatible with the bottle of whiskey which was offered and was next to them on the table. He showed the sailors (to make them feel at

home) some books from Russian publishers, but all these "Russian" works were for some reason published in New York, Paris and Frankfurt am Main. On the whole, he did what he could.

The guests did not even suspect that the keeper of the "special collection" could be called more than just Alex. For, in another instance, he might have introduced himself as Peter Bolotskiy or Yuri Volkov. But, according to his passport, he is Alexander Avgustovich Milits, born in 1932, a native of Pechora, in Pskov Oblast. He is included in the NTS as a correspondent for the emigre journal POSEV, for whom he produces his slanderous "masterpieces" under the mellifluous pseudonym of "Milovanov."

Alex/Peter (etc.) did not limit himself to practicing "journalism." Upon overhearing Russian spoken in the streets, he then and there tries to meet the newcomers and feel out their receptiveness to emigre moaning and groaning about "oppression" and "the lack of freedom" in the USSR. To put it bluntly, he tries to seek out the people he needs. While offering the two sailors in his home Scotch whisky and profuse anti-Soviet verbiage, he flattered himself with the thought that he had come upon such people.

"Don't you have any acquaintances in Leningrad who might be interested in receiving our books?" Alex/Peter glowed, feeling the excitement of the hunt. "We might have an opportunity to contact them."

One of the sailors, apparently intoxicated by the drinks and the lurid talk of the host, recalled a certain Valentin, a historian by profession, who wanted to become a writer, but "did not have the opportunity to be published in our homeland."

Alex/Peter livened up noticeably. There it is, a catch! This is exactly what he shamelessly reported to the bosses at NTS: an unacknowledged author and one who even served out his sentence and feels that Soviet authorities were unfair to him. We could not wish for anything better!

He quickly found a piece of paper and asked them to write down Valentin's address and directions to his home.

"Tell your writer to expect visitors. A man sent by me will say, 'I am a friend of Sasha, the musician,'--you see, I once studied music."

The two sailors from Leningrad never bothered to consider where the desire to "weaken themselves" in a foreign capital could lead. Having forgotten "temporarily" about honor, a sense of duty, and the lofty mission of representatives of the Land of the Soviets, and with their vision clouded by whisky, they could not see behind Alex's exaggerated helpfulness the traits of an ardent enemy of our country.

Meanwhile, further events were being played out in accordance to NTS' orchestration. "Friends of Sasha the musician" began to appear at the apartment of the "unacknowledged writer"--"tourists" like the Italian, Rocco Desito, the Frenchmen, Anna de Beaumont, Edward de Bodouin and Robert Chez de Vineria. The last in this chain was the infamous Edward Cheek.

Apparently, NTS headquarters decided that the "unacknowledged writer" could be considered "made-to-order goods" and then pulled out all the stops. They gave these messengers just one assignment: without further ado, deliver to the proper address the next batch of anti-Soviet scribble and the assignments and instructions for conducting subversive work in the Soviet Union. In the primitive logic of our enemies, people who have experienced dissatisfaction with life, who have known its darker sides, supposedly are just waiting to fall into NTS traps.

"The easiest option" in their work, the NTS ringleaders felt, was to draw the 30-year old Andrey into anti-Soviet activity. In the past, he had been drawn into a group of people that committed illegal acts for which they were convicted. Having atoned for his guilt, Andrey had barely returned to a normal life when the NTS emissaries began to hover around him. Immediately, without undue sentimentality, they offered him money to collect information for a Western "center".

But the NTS recruiters miscalculated. They simply could not comprehend that in our society, even those who have stumbled, for whom the search for a place in life is at times accompanied by falls, immediately understand upon first truly-serious reflection, in which direction the "well-wishers from the West" are pushing them. Even Andrey understood this in time.

It is well known that our enemies primarily hunt for people who, as a result of their anti-social and criminal life-style, are not able to find a worthy place in Soviet society. However, these foreign "liberators of Russia" also aim for those who live a robust life and have authority and influence.

The young scientists, Sergey and Igor, would never have imagined that they would become the targets of intense attention by emigre ideological saboteurs. Indeed, their records held none of the black marks which so attract the NTS. They were both employees of Leningrad scientific research institutes, broad-minded people with an analytical bent.

Somehow they had met their contemporary from abroad in one of the museums. The foreigner was truly amazed by the erudition of his friends and did not hide his completely, so it seemed, natural interest in where his new friends worked and how they lived.

Having discovered that the Leningraders loved modern literature, he promised to send a book or two from overseas.

And so, on some fall evenings, a French tourist would come to Igor's apartment and hand the man of the house a package with brochures and a letter from a Mikhail Zubov. The "literature" was far from belle lettres--malicious, anti-Soviet articles from the magazine POSEV, "research" containing crude attacks and obvious slander against the Soviet Union. And the letter enclosed in the package contained transparent allusions to the "necessity" of organized struggle against Soviet power.

The Frenchman spoke of himself very laconically and with noticeable reluctance. He studied at the University of Paris while working at the French offices of POSEV on the side. When Igor asked the stranger his name, he immediately hurried to the exit mumbling that he was categorically forbidden to give out such personal information.

As soon as he closed the door behind his "guest," Igor invited Sergey to his apartment. Both reviewed the contents of the foreign package and decided that they could not do without the advice of competent people who knew the true meaning of such foreign "surprises." The next day the Leningrad Chekists began yet another operation to uncover and render harmless NTS spies and ideological saboteurs.

The NTS decided to employ an individual approach with Sergey and Igor. And why not--people like them fall into the dirty NTS nets very rarely. That is why they coaxed the representatives of the "underground group of intelligentsia and technocrats", as the young scientists were considered to be by those in Frankfurt am Main. They sent them emissaries a rank higher, who could hide NTS demagoguery in beautiful phrases and eloquently discuss "rights" and "freedoms."

The emigre center sent one of its veterans especially to meet the "technocrat" there. At the Salzburg railway station, a gray-haired man in a light sportcoat and dark pants tucked into short boots approached Sergey. Robert, as the stranger introduced himself, immediately inquired whether they would notice Sergey's absence in the tourist group with which he arrived in Austria.

"The municipal train station," Robert then said, "is not the best place to meet. Not far from here is a quiet cafe. We'll have a beer and talk. Only walk behind me at a distance as if we were strangers."

In the cafe, Robert showed himself to be a person primarily concerned with conspiracy. He chose a table in the corner and placed Sergey with his back to the room. He attentively viewed all the customers and only after that did he begin to talk.

It turned out that Robert was perfectly well informed about the NTS contacts with the "intellectuals and technocrats" --including the exact dates, names of the messengers and all of the details of the questions discussed earlier. Having lowered his voice, he confidently announced that he was one of the specialists at organizing "covert work."

"You would not believe," Robert complained, "how difficult it has become to select people 'with Russian language' to work in the USSR. The children of emigres from the old guard have begun to avoid contacts with us and only a handful of the foreigners agree to carry out NTS assignments. These have been difficult times, very difficult. But, under these conditions, we're not stockpiling weapons. The fruits, as they say, are evident. You see, in you, for example, we have found a person devoted to us!"

Robert would not even suspect what Sergey was thinking. What if he suddenly found out that he was obediently going down the path laid out for him by the Chekists for whom he was not some mythical conspirator named Robert, but Andre Vest, a member of the "covert section" of the NTS, who has been working in the FRG for more than 13 years and who previously lived in Australia, where he also collaborated with the NTS.

In the meantime, Vest, scanning the Salzburg cafe with his dull eyes, offered Sergey a new "reliable" address in the FRG where he could write under the name of a foreign tourist. "Remember," he instructed, "in case you need to meet our messenger, the letter must begin with the word 'Dear'."

Andre Vest's long years of service in the anti-Soviet field, it would seem, had provided him experience: he did not overlook the slightest detail in instructing the "agent." However, in trying to inflate the importance of the "organization" in Sergey's eyes, Vest made a slip. He boastfully announced that the NTS had been trying recently to expand the scope of its activity and today is taking action even...in Pakistan, undertaking provocations against Soviet soldiers who are carrying out their internationalist duty in neighboring Afghanistan.

NTS headquarters obviously would not have approved of such openness on Robert's part--you see, the whole world knows the chief organizer of the anti-Afghan campaign. As the magazine NEWSWEEK recently reported, the CIA provides more than 100 million U.S. dollars annually through secret channels for these purposes. Thus, Vest's professional training as a specialist in "in covert work" had shown its flaws here--contact with western intelligence agencies has always been the most carefully guarded secret of the "liberators" of Russia.

Furthermore, NTS activity resembles the playing of a role with someone else's script. In trying to distort impressions about our Soviet way of life through cover-ups, juggling facts, falsifications and outright lies, the emigre "theoriticians" repeat word-for-word the heap of false stereotypes that were twisted around by the strategists of psychological warfare from the U.S. and other NATO countries.

The only thing that remained "personal" for the Millers, Militses, Vests and the like, is the longing for the old order which all along set the tenor of the mood of the emigre rabble. One can imagine, having just looked at the report on the assemblage of NTS people in Frankfurt am Main what kind of "ideas" they are guided by. POSEV writes with tenderness that "It is not a rare sight here, when in the evening, after a friendly dinner, a member of the NTS since 1930 and a recently-departed Soviet emigre together sing songs of the White movement to the sound of guitars, such as, 'God is With Us! Long Live Russia!'" "This 'behind-the-scenes' view," the magazine continues, "is the traditional atmosphere of our conferences which could, if you will, bring the researcher closer to an understanding of the spirit of the NTS."

For good reason they say, "When there is a performance going on, you should not stand in the wings. It ruins the illusion." In his time, Frederick Engels made an incisive evaluation of the conduct, mood and feverish activities of various emigres which were conducting conspiratorial work, printing leaflets

and newspapers, claiming that within 24 hours again "it will begin", that victory was assured and in anticipation of it government posts were assigned ahead of time. Of course, one disappointment came after another, and since even that did not put the emigres in touch with the inevitable historical conditions which they do wish to comprehend, they attribute these failures to the chance mistake of an individual. As a result, they heap accusations upon each other and the matter ends with a general squabble. This is the history of every emigration.

The picture F. Engels painted resembles the fuss that the NTS "figures" continue to this day! Supposedly acting in the name of the people, they fight in concert with our enemies to destroy the social order chosen by the people themselves.

But history is history; its course cannot be changed. The "difficulties" the NTS recruiters in the West face in searching for couriers for illegal "operations" in the USSR attest to that fact. "Only a handful of individuals agree to carry out NTS assignments," Andrey Vest admitted with lament.

It is no wonder that the roles of the naked Emperors' couriers can be so absurd.

[7 May 84 p 2]

[Text] Andre Vest complained with good reason about the problems of selecting couriers. The number of foreigners willing to get mixed up in NTS dirty work is getting smaller and smaller. As a result they readily resort to the services of individuals motivated by the narrow-minded principle, "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours." For example, the Swede, Frank Woltersen, was such a person.

Frank met only once with Sergey and Igor, the representatives of the mythical "intellectual-technocrat underground group." Having blurted out the password and without waiting, he pulled copies of POSEV and other NTS "works" out of a hidden belt. With that he immediately announced that he did not have any special authority.

It was for reasons quite other than personal modesty that Frank did not boast that he visits the USSR regularly and hardly ever shows up empty-handed. Payments for "service to the NTS" do not antagonize the "businessman's" conscience. Money helped him overcome fear and it did not matter that he earned it in a far-from-honest way.

By the way, fear and the dread of being exposed is a constant companion of the NTS messengers being smuggled into our country. In that sense, they resemble each other like twins. Fear inevitably grips them even before coming to the Soviet border, reaches its peak during the customs inspection and then forces them to just about shrink away from every evening shadow in Leningrad's streets.

The young Frenchwoman, Anna de Beaumont, who came to Leningrad with "greetings from Sasha the musician", was no exception. Anna would only ring the bell of

the apartment she sought late at night. Before arriving, her path would not follow closely any usual tourist route. Fear drove her to avoid people and into empty alleys and entrance ways.

Having arrived finally at her destination, she introduced herself as "Maria" (a ploy!) and right off the bat asked for...not a glass of water, but a pair of scissors. To begin, she first ripped apart two identical teeshirts sewn together, between which the leaflets were hidden. With similar haste she next threw open her raincoat, and from the lining, pulled out a white silk rag with instructions for the "agent" written on it. Only after being relieved of this troublesome evidence could the Frenchwoman think of how dry her mouth was from fear and excitement.

Rocco Dezito, the Italian student, was also stricken by the same virulent fear. However, unlike "Maria," he did not shred his clothes. He just quickly took them off. As it turned out, he had hidden the innermost secrets of his covert mission in his underwear.

Around the NTS Rocco was considered a reliable person. And that was not solely because he used his underwear "for the cause." On one of his trips here, the Italian went to several newsstands and bought nearly a hundred envelopes for the needs of the emigre "secret operations."

Alas, it appears that Rocco's bosses still don't know that their cash is not only going toward payment for NTS courier excursions. Rocco was also working for himself. For example, he buys up rare books in antique shops in order to resell them later to Italian collectors, as well as "recruiting," once again for his own personal reasons, young women whose moral principles leave something to be desired.

The role of Anna/Maria Bordeaux [sic], the French schoolteacher, was not limited merely to the role of a simple courier. After passing on the latest package from the NTS, she took up pen and paper. Oh! She was assigned to ask a few questions! What did she ask for? Information on the recipient's friends convicted for anti-Soviet activities, their "thoughts" on the possibility of recruiting them to assess the prospects of an "armed revolt" in the USSR!

Having relayed the (ridiculous but nonetheless spy-related) assignments, the French woman made a sudden confession:

"I do not know what the NTS is at all. Maybe you could tell me something about it. Is it really a necessary organization?"

Why is it that Anna/Maria, who had no idea of what the NTS "fought" for, associated herself with them without a second thought? "You see," the young Frenchwoman babbled, "I just wanted to see the USSR very much."

A compatriot of Anna/Maria who shares her last name, Michelle Bordeaux, had also longed to visit the Soviet Union. She did not consider herself a mere executor of NTS assignments, but rather an "ideological warrior."

Michelle decided to fight for no more or no less than to "help the Russian people liberate themselves." From whom? "From the existing regime in the USSR"--just as she had read in the NTS brochures.

An investigation into the reasons behind instances of such crude anti-Soviet delusions leads to sad conclusions. It would seem that Michelle had everything she needed to avoid them. She was a capable student, studied political science and successfully completed college. In addition, she had a lively and curious mind and, all things considered, among her friends she was an honest and principled person.

Why then did a false impression of Soviet reality take root in this young Frenchwoman with the supposed broadminded views? Where did she scoop up her "knowledge" of our country?

There were many sources of "information" about the Soviet Union for Michelle as well as other residents of capitalist countries. Among them are textbooks written by "world-renowned" Sovietologists and Kremlinologists. (They are renowned, incidently, because they try in every way to execrate the socialist regime with their "research") Furthermore, there are the "free" sources of western information (that is, free of objectivity in describing everything that relates to the USSR). Also there are the "deep" tomes of literary works in which, in all probability, the only thing that is deep is the depths of the author's cynicism and bitterness towards socialism.

"I read a book published in France which describes an invasion of Western Europe by Russia," said Michelle. "We all now live in constant fear. The USSR wants to conquer the whole European continent."

Therefore, filled with such "truths" about the Soviet Union, and having learned to judge a country without once having been in it, the "fighter", Michelle Bordeaux, came to liberate the Soviet people. Having too high an opinion of herself as a "revolutionary," she would wander for hours through the streets of Leningrad to "cover her trail" and study in advance the route to her meeting place with her "accomplices" and before departing would pronounce the sacramental phrase, "If something happens to you or me, I never saw you before."

Nothing happened to Michelle. She was given the opportunity to leave the Soviet Union without incident and report to her NTS ringleaders her "success" in carrying out her mission.

Pasquale Ponce, a hygienist from Rome, felt like a hero when he left our country. This Italian had studied Russian in classes for foreign students in Leningrad, though he never took the trouble to attend classes regularly. In return, he did not regret the time spent carrying out NTS assignments.

Pasquale was a special type of courier: he was closely linked "ideologically" with his NTS bosses in that he personified the longstanding NTS contacts with the Italian neo-Fascist organization, "Europa Civiltà," of which he had been a member since 1974. The Italian quite cleverly explained how "natural" this

union was. "The NTS and my organization successfully collaborate, and we have one main goal--the fight against Communism."

NTS circles had great trust in the Frenchwoman, Olga Aka. Not only because Olga comes from a White Guard family which emigrated to the West during the civil war. Her bellicose ardor which distinguished her against the background of the cowardly emigres showed itself everywhere. While in France, with racist animosity, she pounced upon "coloreds"--citizens of developing countries who settled in Europe. And in the Soviet Union, she tried to promote "active measures," spreading leaflets and rumors and inciting animosity between nations and ethnic groups in the country.

Olga knew her "worth" and did not sell herself short. In order to avoid excessive risk she never carried the contraband "presents" from NTS across the border and never gave her true name and hid her knowledge of Russian any way she could in front of foreigners.

Nonetheless, this NTS emissary could not hide the main point, the connection between emigre groups and western intelligence services. It is true she denied any contact with them. But when it came to instructions and assignments she was unable to hide the protruding "ears" of her true bosses. Along with the usual requests to crank out fairy tales about "human rights violations" in the USSR, there followed a list of a different sort: information about the state and party apparatus, about the Soviet armed forces, about the state security organs...

It is by no means an accident that items from the espionage questionnaires of western intelligence services turned up in NTS assignments. The "Peoples' Labor Union" has had many bosses during its existence. In the thirties, the intelligence services of bourgeois Poland and Japan paid it "for services rendered." Then they were forced to stand at attention before the Gestapo. And after the fall of the Third Reich, they had to offer themselves to new "clients."

In 1949, the English intelligence service SIS [the Secret Intelligence service] agreed to take the emigres under its tutelage....

[lines missing from original]

...after a few years the British understood that the cost did not correspond to the true worth of the stale goods. And so, on February 28-20, 1956, at a joint conference in London representatives of the British and American intelligence services made a deal which gave the Americans from the CIA, who are less scrupulous in their choice of means, "monopoly" rights to use the NTS at its discretion.

Here is how it was recorded in the conference documents:

"...The handling of matters related to the NTS in the Soviet Union will be entrusted entirely to the CIA..." "SIS Cryptography which presently uses NTS couriers...will be recalled and replaced by CIA cryptography." "SIS is obliged to present information on the amounts paid to NTS groups."

And in the SIS announcement to the NTS leadership, regarding the change in bosses we find such "warm" words as, "The British service would like to thank the NTS for its cooperation and wishes it success in the future."

No, it is no coincidence that almost every NTS assignment includes orders to collect spy information. It is no secret where the NTS spy arsenal comes from with its special note paper and pencils, or whose money publishes POSEV and other anti-Soviet lampoons which, everyone knows, make no profit. And, in reading an emigre text book on underground methods and the rules of conspiracy, you will not find any difference from the instructions the CIA gives to spies.

However, the NTS leadership does not have to go far--literally--to get instructions from its bosses across the sea. You see, not only is the NTS headquarters located in Frankfurt am Main, but also one of the three main CIA stations in the FRG is located there as well. And that is no mere coincidence.

The question invariably comes up: Why should foreign intelligence services have a need to be associated with an archaic organization like the NTS? What is it to them that a pile of emigres convulsively hang on to a past stricken with moral bankruptcy and engage in idle talk, while somewhere in a third class cafe on the opposite end of the earth from their former homeland they fashion plans in a conspiratorial way to "liberate" the country.

Of course, the CIA knows the true worth of these NTS "emperors" and the extent of their venality. But an emigre's calling card does not bother them. And no wonder. Having suffered failure after failure in an attempt to "subvert the USSR from within," the reactionary forces of the West were glad to take under their standard any type of rabble, if through pathological hate of detente and an ardent anti-Sovietism, they are ready to do their bit in President Reagan's "crusade" against the socialist countries. The former accomplices of the Hitlerites and present day betrayers of the homeland are quite suited for these goals. That is why the NTS's "product" is constantly adopted by U.S. and NATO intelligence services and used by western subversion centers in their clamorous propaganda campaigns against the Soviet Union.

NTS couriers are most often young people from different countries who do not even realize who in the end is behind these "liberators of Russia" who long ago sold out their homeland. Taking at face value the emigres' phoney concern about the "fate of the people", these foreigners fear just one thing--getting caught during an illegal operation. However, the main danger of similar missions, of course, lies somewhere else. By signing on with the pathological foes of detente, the NTS envoys thereby become direct participants in fostering distrust and enmity between peoples, and suppliers of the false "arguments" used by Western circles to justify the arms race and speed up military preparations.

We Soviet people are widely known for our hospitality. But we have always been able to recognize our enemies and give a worthy rebuke to those who come to our land "with a sword."

The NTS messengers smuggled into the USSR have failed. And Olga Aka, the emigre emissary was mistaken when she boasted in Leningrad that, "Things are not going badly for us. Judge for yourself; only 5 failures in the last 15 years. Published accounts of NTS couriers' 'secret' missions have forced the ringleaders of the 'Peoples' Labor Union' to make major corrections in their tabulations--that is, to move to the proper column the failures still listed as 'successful' operations."

And so we should strike the "heroes" of our narrative off the list of NTS couriers. Nowadays they can see the sights in Soviet cities only through illustrated guidebooks.

Photo caption: Edward Cheek shows, in the course of the investigation, how he hid the NTS "package."

9355

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NATIONAL

ALTAYSKIY VARIANT OF AGRICULTURAL BRIGADE SYSTEM VIEWED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Oct 84 p 10

[Article by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA special correspondent Valeriy Vyzhutovich:
"The Altayskiy Variant"]

[Text] Under the conditions of developed socialism special importance attaches to combining one-man management with broad participation in management by the workers. Within the labor collective the unity of state, social and personal interests is realized, and the principle of the responsibility of each for all and all for each is confirmed.

Our story today is about a socioeconomic experiment in Altay Kray whose aim is to train managers and develop socialist initiative and democratic principles in production management.

At the turn of summer, at the very peak of the sowing, late because of the prolonged rains, guests arrived in the village of Losikha in Altay Kray. They were from Moscow: Yu.P. Batalin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and his colleague, A.P. Blokhin, chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Labor. And from Barnaul: V.T. Mishcehnko, chairman of the krayispolkom, together with several leaders at the kray level. And all the rayon leadership itself was there. In all of the 200 years of Losikha's existence it had never experienced such high-powered and palpably specific attention and interest.

And the purpose of these arrivals? To learn about and evaluate a socioeconomic experiment at the "Put' k kommunizmu" kolkhoz. To interpret this business that has been undertaken and reported to these high officials; a business that henceforth will take place on a different scale and be of a special social significance that extends far beyonds the limits of the rayon or kray.

The meeting took place in a small, washed and scrubbed hall on the first storey of the offices. The question of "who sat where" was decisive and not without design, and the usual order of doing things was abandoned. Those participating in the discussion were given to understand that talks were to be frank, not just a formality.

Mikhail Vasil'yevich Karapotkin, the kolkhoz chairman, had been sent for to report.

Looking about him self-consciously and flushing like a schoolboy being drilled in his lesson, Karapotkin reported the following. Scientists at the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Institute of Economics and Organization of Industrial Production had drawn up the program for the experiment and were helping in its implementation. What they are interested in (there is the director, Abel Gezevich Aganbegyan, he will confirm that this is so) is the connection between the economic development of society and the economic behavior of its members. It is a serious business--restructuring the economic mechanism so as to restructure people's attitudes toward their own labor and to life in general. To make people implementing the Food Program work better and live a more interesting and gracious life.

Being a man of a practical type, Mikhail Vasil'yevich soon grew tired of this, making his agonizing ascent to the heights of theory, and so, in order, to avoid confusion (god forbid) he turned to Vasilii Dmitriyevich Smirnov for help. This should be a bit more reliable: a candidate of economic sciences and direct manager of the experiment, Vasilii Dmitriyevich stood up and accepted the baton:

"This may not be news to you, but listen just the same. The question of questions: how to make a tractor driver, a milkmaid, a cattleman want to work better and live better, harmoniously, even in the material, but also a higher sense? A kolkhoz is a collective farm. It follows from this that it should be managed collectively. We all learn collectivism, we all con it by rote. So, you say, why do we have to educate people in the spirit of collectivism? We must. And how? Time itself has given us cause to think on this. Collectivism is powerful, but not all-powerful. It produces results only when economic measures are also implemented."

Everyone listened to this with half an ear, with impatient little coughs, implying that it was time to get down to business. And Vasilii Dmitriyevich himself was already thinking that there was no need to read officials a political lesson in so naive a fashion. So, to business, to business.

A collective contract had been introduced at the kolkhoz. The sectors had been transferred to cost accounting, no exceptions. Links had been set up: milkmaids, cattlemen, vehicle operators and so forth; and they had been given apparatus and equipment and told: consider yourselves accounts clerks and bookkeepers; half of what you save is yours, and contrariwise, if you overspend it comes out of your pocket. Each link is an independent subdivision within the framework of internal cost accounting. The farther and ultimate aim of the experiment is the moral transformation of the worker.

This is funny: in the hall there are department chiefs, one of whose jobs obliges them to build bridges from labor to social questions. The guests, however, are frowning. They have their heads in the clouds again: spare us, we did not swallow all that dust and get ourselves shaken up by the pits and bumps in the rayon just for this. If we wanted an uplift for the soul we could

have gone to Akademgorodok, and in comfort along an asphalt road, under the shadows of science and the pine trees. What is he talking about? Show us. Let's leave these theoretical heights and come down to solid ground. Where the grain grows. Where is Galygin's link now? Let us go there, to the machines!

The birch trees on their thin legs stretched away across the hills to the sky. Two colors, green and blue, always dominate in nature. To the city eye, freed from the yoke of bustle and hurry, it seemed to be splashed with sap along the edge of the grass. The calvalcade skirted the copse and headed for the field.

"Galygin? Petr Mikhaylovich?"

"There he is." The cap, the jacket, absolute calm.

"I am the chairman of the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems," our guest introduced himself. "Batalin, Yuriy Petrovich."

"I know," said Petr Mikhaylovich. "They told me."

And he smiled, showing the whitest of white teeth.

"How much grain did you get per hectare last year?"

"Eighteen quintals."

"And how much did you get previously?"

"Well, seven or ten."

The chairman of the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems thought for a moment and then asked: "Can you explain about your system? I have heard that you worked it out yourself, is that right?"

Galygin was happy to explain it, how the link expenditure fund and the wages fund were determined for the link. First you save, second things start to flow, then you overspend; you punish yourself.

During the last 2 years Petr Mikhaylovich has somehow learned to give interviews to newspapermen, but fate has been generous in its trials, and has provided an interlocutor of the rank of all-union minister. Fine, ask away, and I shall answer.

"No, we do not pay hectare by hectare, we are finished with that. How did it used to be? We took equipment out into the field, whether we needed it or not. You urge them on. I urged them on more than anyone. I bought the fuel for the team. A hero with money in his pocket. Now if you use it you pay for it. The link handles 4,600 hectares of arable land. Nine people. It is not important who has plowed how much, sown how much, reaped how much. Only one thing counts: 'Galygin's link.' During the plowing, cultivation and sowing and other seasonal operations you get an advance every month, taking into account class of skills, seniority, days off. The final accounting depends on the harvest."

The guests reached for their notebooks. So, go on.... What about collectivism, mutual assistance, and other lofty feelings? Have you learned them?

"Well, not immediately..."

"This once happened," Galygin says. "We were sowing and it started to rain. And who can sow in the rain? So we unhooked the trailer and what do we do now, men? And here Vasya Tsaytler, the driver, showed his worth you might say. He had brought out the seeds and, seeing that nothing could be done, was glad and drove off away from the field. Meanwhile, whether you can sow or not you can plow in the rain, agricultural science permits it. And you can make repairs. He drove off... In the morning the wretch turned up at the link.

"Mikhail, did you write me up for the day?"

"Did you work the day?"

"From seven to eleven, and afterwards, well, you saw for yourself."

"So you get 4 hours."

"Vasya cursed and ran off to Karapotkin. He did not even look round. 'You're in the link, let the link decide.'"

The link is a collective judge whose verdict is final and without appeal. Not to the kolkhoz chairman, not to anyone.

Galygin is not a free link. That is, he is not free from the obligation to plow, sow and reap. He is also a chief and a rank-and-file kolkhoz farmer, both at the same time. In this new social role for the countryman Galygin personifies the mutual understanding between the "top" and the "bottom, at least he tries to.

There is more. Galygin does not handle a harrow but he is a good plowman. And he hardly takes a risk in cultivation because he operates a sower flawlessly. Vasilii Mazayev is useful on the combine harvester, but he cannot harrow or remove stubble; he passes this on to Kolya Mal'tsev.

The integration of skills, talent and experience.

Galygin himself is a calm and open person; Mal'tsev is "a reserved fellow. If he loses something he says nothing. When he finds it again he still says nothing"; Mazayev is the most literate of them; he has a secondary education.

A composite of characters and skills.

Yes, and then there is Karapotkin. Whether you like it or not, power must be shared and delegated. Eighteen months ago when I first went there I went to a meeting at the farm. I shall not attempt to describe the passions. They were so high that it was a case of locking away your valuables and calling

for the cops. One thing was worth describing: the way Karapotkin held himself. He placed his great arms on the table in front of him, folded them together until they cracked and grew numb, and... remained silent. And remained silent.

It seemed to me that as I watched I sensed with unbearable clarity why silence is golden.

Sheer willpower, sheer willpower... What nonsense: there is no such thing as sheer willpower. To remain silent the way Karapotkin did, not intervening unless necessary, and to stay silent requires a firmer will than for issuing commands or peremptory shouting.

The right of the deciding vote, like other rights, is indivisible: either you have it or I have it; there is no "half and half." By giving the milkmaid or the tractor driver the right to decide, the kolkhoz chairman thus voluntarily yields up this right. But in losing his moral freedom to punish or pardon, and the opportunity to silence the main speaker with an "out of order" or at least to make warning taps with his pencil on the water carafe, he gains incomparable authority.

I should make one reservation here. Democracy in management and in interpersonal relations is an undisputed boon. Democracy in matters of technology is harmful and impermissible. The agronomist says when the sowing and harvesting must be done; the zootechnics expert dictates when milking should be started on a young cow; the veterinarian decides how to treat the cow. These things are not decided by vote. At the No 2 farmstead in Filatov, the cattlemen, seized with a pioneering ardor, began to save fodder without knowing the proper rations. The milk yield fell, and Karapotkin, who understood the cause, imperiously put a stop to this "cause" without waiting until the final collapse would make clear to people the difference between arbitrariness and self-management.

... The notebooks of the guests were crammed with examples.

Liquor used to be sold freely at the height of the harvesting in the Losikha general store. Someone with authority, who had come to take up the struggle for discipline, learned about this and was petrified:

"So that everyone can go and buy it? Do you realize what this implies?"

"So ban it. Will this imply something else? Whoever wants it will find it. If not here, then in Semenovka."

"It is 40 kilometers away!"

"Exactly. I myself would kick over traces like that. And as a result things will go far beyond any norm. And they will go on the combines. They will burn fuel. That's one. And they will drink while on the road. That's two. And they will cripple the machines. That's three. Enough?"

The interlocutor though for a moment:

"Well, what about that... Well, OK, you are from here. I heard nothing, you said nothing..."

The store is in operation, the goods on the shelves: "Have a drink." "No thanks..." Not because the product has lost its sweet attractiveness. "No thanks" means first and foremost simply that a person wants to stay capable, or his wife is with him, or even bosses from the kolkhoz, even though they will understand and forgive. But the harvest--that greatest economist of all--will not understand, and will never forgive. When things were different Anna Ivanovna, the mother of one of the cattlemen, blamed everything on the vodka, seeing it as the sole source and prime cause of her son's misadventures. And then the experiment began and something that no one had suspected became apparent: the worker's dependence on the result of his own labor has a sobering effect.

You do not "cheat" on this score. The economic mechanism is more reliable than any watchman. If you "borrow" a little hay from the farm it will pay you back with fewer liters [of milk] and in turn that will mean fewer rubles. It is better not to mix your own corn bin with the kolkhoz corn bins; take it out of your own. However, even here there is still fault. In the spring they "caught" two milkmaids with three-liter jars of milk on their way home from the evening milking. It is no secret to anyone in the countryside that "you take a little bit" from the farms, but Losikha was the first suddenly to rebel against this. They say that there was a comrades' court, and this can be seen from the minutes (a tractor driver, a milkmaid, a female teacher, another milkmaid, a cattleman, and from the "authorities" an animal expert). It really was friendly.

Losikha searches out all the necessary words addressed to any kind of nonworkers, and it learns to speak aloud. And eye to eye. And right there among the local people. For the principles are not just any kind, but the principles of collective labor embodied in the contract, which is rightly called a collective contract. Incidentally, I do not know if Galygin still spends much time with the links. The idea of passing on the reins of control from hand to hand has matured. Of course, only to those hands that can handle it and do not get the shakes. Anyone who holds dear the common interest will be given a tryout. One more step and Losikha will sense through its own example the attractiveness of Lenin's thought that ultimately social revolution leads to the creation of the kind of order "involving increasingly simplified functions of supervision, and accountability will be made by all in turn, and then will become a habit, and finally the question will no longer arise of special functions by a special stratum of people."

Let us continue with the idea of "mine" and "ours."

Erna Andreyevna Sitner, a leading milkmaid, the pride of the kolkhoz, heard what they were saying in the office and went home with what for her was terrible news: "The whole link will be honored!"

The board of honor is being made up. They used to put up portraits of the leaders, but now they are promising to show the whole of the best link.

Drama!

Mariya Ivanovna Bogatyreva, milkmaid; Ivan Vasil'yevich Obryadin, construction worker; Nikolay Mikhaylovich Polevoy, vehicle operator; and some others. They gaze down from the board of honor, embarrassing the chairman with their mute question: how can this be?

"Ex-per-i-ment." Someone's angry bass voice rolled out the word at a meeting of the link. "What good is it to anyone, eating from the same trough? Isn't this wage leveling?"

This question will persist as long as the contract does. We are breeding great numbers of hangers-on: this is the first reaction of cautious minds. But who seriously believes that Galygin will allow, say, Mal'tsev to ladle out his own share without contributing to the common bowl? Not Mal'tsev, not Karapotkin himself. Never. The others, whose contribution is serious and significant will simply not accept this. So how to divide it up? Well, that is child's play: one of the comrades from the city advised a coefficient of labor participation; so everyone is quits.

Yes and no. It is dangerous, this coefficient of labor participation. It is another matter in a factory, where the lathe operators in one brigade sharpen their own cutting bits, and after the shift go off to different housing developments, maintaining their stiff and, rightly, beneficial reticence in their attitudes. But in the countryside, where everyone is, if not a relation then a god parent, and if not a god parent a neighbor, this is risky. They tried it out at the "Put k kommunizmu" kolkhoz. But after cattleman link leader Nikolay Papsulin threatened his partner Lebedev at a meeting with a lowered coefficient of labor participation for ruining some fodder, and Lebedev promised right there in front of everyone to stick Nikolay with a pitchfork, they rejected the idea of a coefficient of labor participation and never went back to it. Why mess with it when no one has abolished additional payments for work seniority and class qualifications. And the harvest--well, it will pay in full, and it has the last word.

It is not, however, a question of money. They divide this up. Somehow or other Galygin and Mal'tsev will square their account with the rubles. But how to divide up the board of honor? The general plan of taking photographs of the the leaders in the rayon will not do. And who knows, today or tomorrow Svetlana Kolodina, a young milkmaid and, let us not beat about the bush, not the most outstanding, may squeeze the honor-laden Erna Andreyevna out of the picture.

What a pity.

And even though Erna Andreyevna has been milking cows almost since they were young calves, and Svetlana has for many years been a candidate at the meat combine, it is still a pity. And I hope they can understand this. Twenty five years without a sleep in in the mornings, an annual milk yield of 3,500 kilograms per cow when others get barely 2,000, diplomas from the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements, a mandate as people's deputy; and all this

just goes into the common bowl? So that it melds and mixes as part of the average kolkhoz model as some sort of imitation?

I do not know, I do not know... But if there is any justice then Svetlana Kolodina, partly because she is not all that famous and because, like the number of cows it handles, the kolkhoz has also reached the strict limit of seats it can have in the rayon presidium, and because she is diligent and hardworking, should certainly be given some share of the general success. Even if it is in a group portrait of a production area.

Yes, the contract is impassive, and the new production relations it confirms between people are in no way sentimental. Calculations, and again, calculations. The experiment at the "Put k kommunizmu" kolkhoz, however, is enriching our understanding that the firmer the authority of the calculation the stronger the dependence on the ruble and the stronger--and not weaker!--people's craving for moral reward. For mutual payments of recognition, respect, and eventually honor. For the augmentation rather than the consumption of that capital that Erna Andreyevna fears to lose and that Svetlana wants so much to acquire.

A leading comrade once traveled to Losikha and went down onto the farm and talked with the milkmaids. They had all grown old together, the milkmaids working with the cows. And he said to them: "And where are the young people. I do not see them." "Where have they gone? The teacher himself is turning young people away from the kolkhoz." "How so?" "Like this. They say that the learning here is poor, like Lebedev, the fodder man at the farm"... berating those young people who "turn away from the kolkhoz" and those who tolerate this. But the matter did not end there..

The visitor asked to see the school, and to his amazement he found on the wall of a corridor a picture of Pervitskiy. "Don't you have any heroes of your own?" And only then did Losikha come to its senses. Nikolay Yevgorovich Pilyugin, Semen Ivanovich Vanyushkin, Aleksandr Matveyevich Klochkov, and Grigoriy Ilich Sukhorukhov were listed by name with their photographs. The children learned that in 1929 the "Krasnyy Altay" commune was set up in Losikha, and a year later, three kolkhozes together, the "Kuzbass," "Donbass" and "Proleta Riy." And in 1954 they were combined together as the "Put k kommunizmu" and Ivanyuta, the 25,000th member, became the chairman...

There is an antiques museum. Gadgets for pressing felt boots, a reaping hook, flatirons, a handbell--a gift from Valday; someone brought in an old phonograph, someone else found some old records... Awakening the old memories. Harkening back warmly to sources. All this moving on with a lively line and freshened by the wind into a program of social changes.

* * * * *

The experiment... Yes, the collective contract has been in the countryside now for a quarter of a century, dying at one farm, being christened at another, trying to cover that vital space.

Not far from Losikha, where the wooded steppe thickens into the mixed forest of the tayga, flows the Bobrovka River. Since time immemorial beavers were here--

hence the name ["bobr"--Russian for beaver]. Over time the beavers were exterminated, but recently, thinking better of it, they [Losikha residents] released two or three dozen animals into the water: an experiment to test the animal's survivability.

The years pass, and now there is another attempt, another unshakable belief in the indestructibility of everything that lives--man's ideas and his capacity for self-renewal.

At one time academician S.G. Strumilin calculated that a full sober salubrity in labor processes would make it possible to raise labor productivity 10 percent. But just as urgently we need this sober salubrity to isolate us from complacent affirmations about discipline and order, about setting our hopes in some prohibition and in a stubborn faith in the vivifying force of a command. When a link is given a plan not for milk but for horns and hooves, when, provided with enough fodder to feed 900 cows a kolkhoz must maintain 1,300, then the link member knows this quite well, and he is creative and he marches off to a counter that he knows, where there are no people in special clothing dictating who gets how much, but where each receives according to his needs...

If you are not master, then you are no worker either.

Incidentally, why [is the village named] Losikha? Is it because there are elk in the area ["los' "--Russian for elk]? They say there used to be in the past, there are none now.

Perhaps it would be worth setting some loose. And what if...

* * * * *

[Commentary by Yu.P. Batalin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems]

The initial results of the experiment have been reviewed by the collegium of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, to which the chairman of the "Put k kommunizmu" kolkhoz, M.V. Karapotkin, and candidate of economic sciences V.D. Smirnov were invited.

Under present conditions one important factor in production development is the substantial restructuring of the economic mechanism providing for an extension of independence in the labor collectives in decisionmaking with simultaneous enhancement of responsibility for final production results. This should markedly improve people's attitudes toward labor and raise the level of discipline, economic consciousness and social activeness.

Our economy is passing through that moment in its development when much attention is being given to using the social potential of the individual, and this also includes a businesslike attitude the matter, the cultivation of production relations, collectivism, mutual delegation, exacting comradesliness, and, finally, simply honesty. Yes, honesty, which is quicker and easier to instill when order reigns.

Of course, in order to link improved well-being more closely with people's labor activity, at the "Put k kommunizmu" kolkhoz it is necessary to solve

a whole series of social problems. It is being proposed that hard-surfaced roads be built and new forms be worked out for the organization of leisure... The demographic policy of the kolkhoz should also be made more flexible and purposeful. There is a possibility that a branch of the city or rayon enterprise (which is prestigious enough) will be opened up for the young women.

In order to achieve the economic and social goals of the experiment, first and foremost the kolkhoz must be freed from petty tutelage from higher organs of management. What is sown where and how many cows they keep should be decided by the masters themselves. Affirmation of the new economic relations means also a restructuring of the consciousness and the rejection of frozen stereotypes in understanding the relationships between economics and people. The Altay kolkhoz farmers have set out on this road, and it seems to me that it promises many discoveries.

Epilogue.

From the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Department of Sociopolitical Life.

The social goals set by the Altay experiment (teaching people to be their own masters, conscious discipline, the creation of a salubrious social microclimate), along with the means of achieving them (improvements in the economic mechanism) seem to us significant and promising. For the business started at the "Put k kommunizmu" kolkhoz does not amount merely to the testing of a more advanced model of the economic mechanism. The economic search is being enriched with a lofty social thought, namely to shape an awareness of economics and to develop initiative and democracy in social self-management.

It is still too early to say that this has been fully accomplished. The experiment started in the autumn of 1981 and will continue to the end of the five-year plan. Much in it is still in the development stage and requires amendment and testing for durability. This is why it seems useful to follow the further fate of this matter that we have today discussed for the first time. We intend to return to this theme and review how what has been started by the scientists and kolkhoz farmers develops.

9642

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NATIONAL

NEW PAY SYSTEM FOR AGRICULTURAL BRIGADES DISCUSSED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Sep 84 p 2

[Article by V. Vershinin, candidate of economic sciences, chief of the sector for improving collective forms of wages in agriculture at the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Economics and Agriculture: "Concerning the Contract: Problems and Discussion"]

[Text] It is difficult to find a kolkhoz or sovkhoz where the collectives are not working under the contract method. And this is exerting a favorable effect on the results of labor.

But the more extensive the contract becomes the clearer it becomes that we are by no means utilizing all its possibilities. Take just pay. As is known, among rural contract workers there is a contract-bonus system. That is, they are paid for output. Before they receive this, they get advances. It would seem that the connection between work and final results is very close. In practice, however, this is not always so.

Take, for example, the kolkhoz imeni Kirov in Novoodesskiy rayon, Nikolayev Oblast. Two links there are working on a contract basis. A. Shiro leads one, N. Pikhorenko the other. Last year the former produced 1.5 times more output per man-day than the latter. And they grow the same crops. It would seem that in the former case wages should be higher. But this is what happened in practice. In A. Shiro's link the wages per man-day were R7.40, and in N. Pikhorenko's link they were R7.43.

What is going on? It turns out that in the second link the advance for vehicle operators was R188, against R175 in the first link. And since the production plan was not fulfilled by the collectives, the advance also became the wage basis, insuring higher wages for those that had not worked so well.

Unfortunately this often happens. Although what those working under a collective contract receive through the course of the year before the final calculation is called an advance, it is in fact a guaranteed wage that does not depend, or depends very little, on the amount of output or its prime cost. The proportion of this payment is large. In 1982, for example, for sovkhozes throughout the country it amounted to 81.3 percent of total wages for vehicle operators. And the remaining 18.7 percent? Does it provide incentive for

final results? Alas! Half of this "remainder" is an additional payment for work seniority for specialty at any given kind of farm. Then one percent is a bonus for maintaining equipment in good condition and making good use of it, and for saving fuel and spares. These things in no way depend on final results.

And this is the result: only one-tenth of vehicle operators' pay is directly linked to the amount of output produced and its prime cost. It is understandable that such a system helps very little in achieving the main aims of the contract. A vehicle operator is still more interested in strengthening his budget through his current pay because it is guaranteed. Hence the pursuit of norms to the detriment of quality, and writeups for operations for which the need is declining.

Attempts are being made to avoid these abnormalities. Thus, the standard instructions and recommendations on contracts advise the use of mainly a temporary wage before the calculations for output are done. Is this the solution? Hardly. Practice has shown that this kind of incentive is usually effective in small collectives where the workers all have about the same skills and abilities. It is by no means always possible to guarantee this kind of selection. As a result, vehicle operators receive equal sums even though their productivity varies.

In the opinion of many people, the piecework rate for volumes of work gives rise to self-seeking. Temporary rates sometimes lower the indicators of the best workers down to the level of the worst.

These kinds of discrepancies and contradictions also lead to considerable overpayments. Even in places where it would seem that the innovation has been assimilated fairly well, wages grow more rapidly than productivity. Thus, in Bashtanskiy rayon, Nikolayev Oblast, in the 54 collectives that have been working under contract for 10 years already, wages for vehicle operators have increased 26.3 percent while the output that they produce has increased only 6 percent.

It is not the plan but the so-called production norm that now forms the basis of evaluations in the contract collectives. This is determined by proceeding from the yields obtained during the previous 5 years, which makes it possible to take into account both soil fertility and the capital-to-labor ratio, and variations in weather. A certain level of wages per unit of output is guaranteed for 5 years. Under these conditions, we think, it would be necessary to abandon guaranteed payments for volumes of work and consider only final results.

With wages paid only for output, over the course of the year advances will be merely the form in which the collective wage is distributed. The disputes about what principles should be used to calculate the advance should also decline, because the wages for a brigade or link will no longer depend on the number of hours or norm shifts. Let the collective decide at its own discretion whether what is received for output should be shared out on a piecework basis, a temporary basis or some other basis.

In our view, the contract agreement should also be concluded not for 1 year but for 5 years. Over such a period the variations associated with the weather are smoothed over. This makes it possible to determine normative yields and prime cost with greater accuracy. Before the final calculation of results for the 5 years it is advisable to set up a guaranteed wages fund for contract collectives. Assets obtained during particularly high-yield years, when wages considerably exceed the average, should be put into this fund. It could then be used to make up the payments in less successful years. A specified level of wages through insurance should be guaranteed only in the event of natural disasters.

Moreover, this kind of approach will make it possible to create a guaranteed wages fund not at the cost of society, as is done today, but through the collective itself. The differences in wages year by year, depending on the weather conditions, would be eliminated.

Wages only for final results should become the distinguishing mark of the collective contract. It will promote more fully the efficient use of material-technical means. Unfortunately, the contract-bonus system is not linked with the thrifty consumption of production resources. According to the standard instructions, this defect should be corrected by paying bonuses for reductions in direct expenditure per unit of output or for lowering prime cost compared with the plan, in the amount of 25 percent of the saving achieved in crop growing. In practice, however, this kind of bonus payment does not always provide incentive for the thrifty consumption of assets. For example, it is not advantageous for a vehicle operator to reduce costs per unit of output by using less fuel or using equipment carefully. But there is another way to offer bonuses for these indicators, depending on the volume of work done.

Inadequate material interest in saving resources harms the contract. In this kind of situation it is difficult to instill the sense of being master of one's own affairs.

Providing incentive for a thrifty attitude toward production resources is also a demand of life in the contract collective. At the "Za mir" kolkhoz in the Lithuanian SSR, with the aid of scientists from the republic Scientific Research Institute of Economics and Organization of Agriculture they have switched to a wages system based on normative prime cost. Pay is determined by the level of average direct expenditures in previous years for each kind of output. Output actually produced is assessed according to this indicator. The value of material expenditures is deducted from the amount received. The rest makes up the wages for the contract collective.

Part of this sum is used to pay a monthly advance, and the final wages are distributed proportionally. A ceiling has been set for wages for vehicle operators at no more than R450 per month. If the amount received is higher the surplus goes into a guarantee fund. In this variant the collective contract and cost accounting are indissoluble.

Here, direct material responsibility is established for any violation, loss or mismanagement. Slacking, poor quality work, poor use of equipment and

fertilizers--everything is reflected in wages. Contrariwise, skillful initiative, enterprise and thrift increase the wages. Wages are not affected by the profitability of a given crop or subjectivism in determining plan indicators.

What has the kolkhoz derived from the introduction of the new wages system? In 1983 gross output increased 11 percent and labor productivity 9.4 percent, while the consumption of fuel, spares and inventory was sharply reduced. Profit topped R1 million and profitability was 40.6 percent. And the most important thing is that the vehicle operators have become zealous masters of kolkhoz production.

The search is also being conducted in other places. Thus, scientists at the Siberian Scientific Research Institute of Agriculture has initiated an experiment in internal cost accounting at kolkhozes in Altay Kray. The scientific establishments have drawn up and passed to VASKhNIL a number of proposals aimed at improving the collective contract. It is now up to the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems. It would be worthwhile to check out these proposals experimentally and give them the best possible chance for implementation.

9642

CSO: 1800/27

REGIONAL

SHCHERBITSKIY, OTHER UKRAINIAN OFFICIALS MEET COSMONAUTS

AU191456 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 0330 GMT 19 Oct 84

[Text] On 18 October, Vladimir Vasilyevich Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, met thrice heroes of the Soviet Union, pilot cosmonauts of the USSR Savitskaya and Dzhanibekov.

The cosmonauts gave an account of the results of the recently completed orbital flight performed by Soviet Cosmonauts aboard the Salyut-7/Soyuz-T-11 spacecraft, and on the (?testing) of a general-purpose hand-operated light (?welding) device (?designed) at the Paton Electrowelding Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

Vladimir Vasilyevich Shcherbitskiy spoke about the work performed in the republic to implement the decisions of the 26th party congress and the successive CPSU Central Committee plenums, and wished the cosmonauts new successes in their responsible work in reclaiming outer space [words indistinct].

Participating in the meeting were Mozgovoy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; Kapto, Kryuchkov, and Pogrebnyak, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate members and secretaries; Paton, president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences; Prodan, affairs administrator in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; and [name indistinct], assistant to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary.

CSO: 1811/3

REGIONAL

MOSCOW NEWS REPORTS GEORGIAN PUBLIC OPINION WORK

PM051033 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 38, 23 Sep 84 (signed to press 18 Sep 84) p 12

[Van Bayburt, Aleksandr Guber article: "Public Opinion in Georgia"]

[Text] To make a scientific and effective study, and, moreover, prediction of public opinion is always not simple, even less so in Georgia, a republic that strikes one's imagination because of its variety of natural conditions, languages and national traditions.

There are only 23 members of staff in the Centre for Studying Public Opinion under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia: 18 scientists (3 in each of the 6 problem laboratories) and 5 technical workers.

We were given these figures by Guram Yenukidze, secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee.

But it is not the number of workers that determines the effectiveness of an institution. This centre heads and coordinates the work which involves different institutes of the Republic's Academy of Sciences, departments of higher educational establishments, party bodies, local authorities and public organizations.

Professor Teymuraz Dzhafarli, D.Sc. (philosophy), deputy head of the centre, showed us an elegant red paper case that looked rather like a big thumb index, except there were figures rather than letters in it. Each stands for one of the problems with which the centre deals. The figure is followed by coordinates of the institutions and scientists to whom the centre turns to elaborate the given problem, corresponding, naturally, to their scientific profile.

In other words, the hundreds, even thousands, of people we expected to see actually do exist. They are not staff members of the centre but they do study public opinion.

The centre (which in 1975-1981 was known as the Council for the Study of Public Opinion) has carried out about a hundred sociological surveys. They questioned tens of thousands of factory and office workers, collective farmers, students, schoolchildren, pensioners and housewives. They scanned thousands of letters

written by all sorts of people to party bodies, local authorities and the mass media. The results, processed by computer technology, formed the basis of many recommendations on which the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia passed quite a few important resolutions.

"The centre's activities not only help party bodies to be aware of the sentiments and needs of a wide range of the population, and of people's assessment of certain initiatives, but are also instrumental in drawing the people into running the affairs of society and the state," said Guram Yenukidze. "When people know that their opinions are reflected in administrative decisions, their social activity increases dramatically."

Is It Worth Living in the Mountains?

This is by no means an abstract question for Georgia. Not very long ago experts used to give it a negative reply and offered seemingly convincing arguments to back up their case. Small mountain villages, they said, have neither economic nor social prospects. Building roads and electric transmission lines is an expensive and unprofitable task and it is difficult to get building materials and goods to them. Any shops, libraries, clubs or hospitals in the mountains cater to only a few hundred people compared to thousands in the valleys. The expenditures are several times higher. And life is not that easy in the mountains: long frosty winters, isolation, the lack of varied professions, relatively low labour productivity in cattle raising and especially in crop growing and, therefore, the correspondingly low incomes, and the impossibility of using the mechanization which is applied in the valleys. In short, the supporters of this theory concluded, on the whole, that it is better all round both for the mountain people themselves and for the state not to cling to the mountains, but to go down to the valleys and take part in intensive farming where the conditions are more favourable.

However, it was soon discovered that Georgia could not do without its splendid mountain pastures. Without them animal husbandry had lost one of its main bases. This is one--economic--aspect of the matter. There is another aspect too. The Svanetians, Khevsurs and other Georgian ethnic groups have lived high up in the mountains since time began. It is their natural habitat, the home of their individual identity, and the roots of their traditions. Can these roots possibly be severed; indeed should they be?

There was a time when the necessary attention was not paid to this aspect of the problem. Many highlanders resettled in the valleys. These mountain people were left without their roots, and the mountains--without workers. The depopulated villages were like ghost towns and mountain cattle raising fell.

The Central Committee of the communist party and the government of the republic decided that this had first to be stopped and then reversed.

But what could be done to return people to the mountains? Would they want to start everything from the beginning? What was necessary for this?

Workers at the centre were instructed to help find answers to these questions. And these were delicate questions. People who had already established their way of life in the new places, had to act according to the dictates of social necessity. The very people who only recently, and reluctantly, left their mountains, previously listened to arguments which were totally different from those they hear today.

"We will go back," was the firm answer of the mountain people in 17 districts of the republic. This was the majority opinion.

This started off the fulfillment of the programme under which 900 mountain villages must be revived and rebuilt by 1990. Work is already underway. The once abandoned villages are coming back to life, roads and electric transmission lines are being laid, hospitals, clubs, shops, schools and TV-relay stations built, everyday living conditions are being organized, and people have jobs they enjoy. A significant feature: some districts, for instance, the Lentekhskiy District in Svanetia, already now manage their affairs on a paying, economically-sound basis. The previous achievements, reached before the massive resettlement to the valleys, have been left far behind.

The past mistake is being rectified. Had it not been made, had everything taken its normal course, there would have been far fewer material expenditures and moral costs. The reason why the mistake was made is now self-evident: One-sided "armchair" view of this intricate problem, insufficient knowledge and consideration of public opinion.

I Don't Want My Son To Be a Steel Smelter

In the early 1980's, a difficult situation cropped up at the Rustavi iron-and-steel plant. The then-managers of this, the biggest metallurgical enterprise in Georgia made many mistakes. More importantly, they failed to see the prospects in developing production and its dynamics and to take into account the growing demands for the content and conditions of work. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that the plant always had an increasing shortage of skilled manpower. According to a sociological poll, the prestige of a metallurgist had fallen in the republic as a whole. Most of the regular steel smelters in Rustavi did not want their children to follow in their footsteps. A kind of vicious circle developed: things at the plant were in a sorry state because of the skilled manpower shortage because things were in a sorry state. It was not so difficult to see what had to be done: replace the management, rebuild production, make metallurgists' work more meaningful, improve working and living conditions.... While this is true, in the life of a major enterprise all these general tasks are subdivided into a great many specific and very closely intertwined affairs. It is impossible to see them all, to take into account the different economic and technical capabilities, and people's moods, proceeding from general considerations. There is a need for specific research and this is what the workers at the centre did. It is not they that changed the situation at the Rustavi plant for the better--that is not their job. They just stated exactly what was needed after studying the opinion of most of the Rustavi workers. And they helped to ensure that public opinion supported the new developments at the plant.

The aircraft factory is one of the most important best-known industries in Tbilisi. Many workers, engineers and technicians have cars. But the maintenance of these cars was poorly organized in the city; lots of complaints came to the party and local government bodies. And, of course, not only from the aircraft factory. But the workers from that factory went beyond lodging complaints. At one of their meetings they offered a candidate who, if appointed director of the corresponding city service, would, they believed, put things in order in that respect. The man in question was Guram Khazaradze, deputy secretary of the Factory Party Committee. Directors of factories, you may recall, are not elected but appointed in the USSR, which is why we describe it as a recommendation rather than a decision. How was it taken up?

The centre analyzed the motives that prompted the factory workers to put forward Khazaradze as a candidate. Apparently, they placed emphasis not so much on his professional skills, important though they are, as on his political and moral qualities which they know after working with him for many years.

The result was that Khazaradze received the appointment (one he did not expect) recommended by the work collective. He went on to achieve much of what had been expected of him in the technical maintenance service.

Commenting on this, Guram Yenukidze told us: "We asked sociologists to find out what qualities people value above all others in leaders, especially party leaders. And this is what we learned. People give priority to devotion to communist ideals, next comes moral integrity and only then professional competence. So what happened to Khararadze cannot be considered an exception. Why is it important for us to know this? Many people tend to believe that the party organization in a factory must be headed by an engineer, in a rural district by an agronomist, in a research institute by a scientist. Needless to say, it is difficult to lead a party organization without knowing exactly what the collective does. But the relevant knowledge and skills can be acquired while working. However, without the first two qualities, there can be no real party functionary in general. We have had no doubts in our party on this score for a long time. Public opinion, as you can see, has supported us."

Do You Know What Subordinates Think Of You?

There is probably no leader who feels completely indifferent to what his subordinates think of him. True, there are some who pretend to be indifferent. But then how is it possible to find out what others think? And, to what extent should it be accepted?

When a sharp conflict arises, the leader hears many bitter words at a party or trade union meeting, at a production conference, or even confidentially. In such cases justified reproaches alternate with dubious and rashly phrased ones, and there is the temptation to put most of them in the second category. Moreover, not everyone is ready to voice his opinion openly. Some do not want to spoil their relationship with "higher-ups." Others do not consider themselves good speakers so do not like to speak in public. Other people have different reasons.

But if matters never reach the point of conflict, how then can you find out what those around you think? Should silence be seen as a sign of approval?

The centre deals with this problem as well. Its workers question people who have direct contact with a particular leader. They do this, using special methods of cross-questioning which needs mutual verification.

If you have never had anything to do with the militia, how well can you offer an opinion about their work and the qualities of their leaders? The same applies to any other job: it is interesting to find out the opinion of people who know what the question is about. An individual may have a lot of accidental, subjective or even completely wrong views, but if the majority or even a large proportion of those surveyed agree on a particular point, then the causes must be seriously considered.

"On more than one occasion we have drawn organizational conclusions from the results of such surveys," says Guram Yenukidze. "Leaders who discredited themselves in most people's eyes were relieved of their jobs, others were subjected to principled criticism and helped to mend their ways. I have in mind directors of factories, secretaries of district party committees and leaders of administrative bodies--leaders of any rank. It is just impossible to work without constant support from the majority of people."

A special service for studying public opinion was set up in Georgia less than 10 years ago. In other places--even later. In some places it still does not exist. When it is nonexistent does this mean that public opinion is not included in the decisionmaking?

"This question should not be asked in such a way," Guram Yenukidze goes on. "If the Leninist Party did not have a thorough knowledge of people's moods, it would not be able to lead the masses. There would have been no victorious revolution in 1917, nor the successes of socialist transformations, nor the defeat of fascism. But at that time there was not even a hint of a special sociological service. Nor should it be considered the only, even the main channel for studying public opinion today. By no means does it cancel out the old methods of this work, verified as they are by the entire practice of the party; rather they are complemented and perfected.

"There is one more point that needs to be specified. The full name of the organization in question is the Centre for the Studying, Moulding, and Forecasting Public Opinion under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia. Guests from the West often become suspicious upon hearing the word 'moulding.' Does this mean, they say, that you communists also want to manipulate public opinion? No, we don't want to manipulate it, but we do try to mould it, although so far not always successfully. What do we want to achieve? The social involvement of the widest sections of the population, the inner requirement of every individual for harmonious development, universal respect for our society's moral values and laws, the elevation of work and contempt for idleness, self-interest, consumerism and indifference, everyone's love for peace and hatred for war, the urge for cooperation and understanding with other nations. It is in this spirit that we have been moulding and will continue to mould public

opinion. We look forward to learning ways of how to do this as best as possible. The centre we are speaking about helps us in this respect, along with similar organizations in the localities, radio, television, and periodicals. We regard what has been done in the republic as just the beginning. The main work lies ahead."

CSO: 1812/22

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN OFFICIAL ATTACKS FRG SOVIETOLOGIST

[Editorial Report] Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian on 4 October 1984 on page 2 carries a 1700-word article by G. Vat'yan, chief of the department of philosophy and scientific communism at the Yerevan Electromechanical Plant imeni Vladidmir Il'ich. In the article entitled "Of Greatest Importance," the author speaks about the historic community of the Soviet people and their friendship and cooperation. He recites the industrial and economic benefits Armenia has enjoyed as a result of this union. He notes the plans of the Armenian party organizations which stress improved learning of the Russian language by the Armenian population as an important step in the development of friendship and cooperation among the peoples of the Soviet Union. The Communist Party must actively guard against the manifestation of nationalism, regionalism, and departmentalism," he warns. The national policies of the Communist Party are subjected to repeated attacks by the "enemies of socialism," the author continues. He cites an article by a West German sovietologist, Gerhard Simon, as an example of the most "malicious falsification of the Soviet Union's national policies." Simon's article entitled "Russians and Non-Russians in Soviet Society" contrasts the Russians from the non-Russians, and according to Vat'yan, argues that the exceptional rise in education among non-Russian nationalities--based on census figures--is due largely to anti-Russian nationalism. Vat'yan attacks Simon's alleged statement that "nations without their own territory" and their own national government, such as the Karakalpak, have no national freedom, pointing out that the Karakalpaks are an autonomous SSR (within the Uzbek SSR). Further the author faults Simon's view on Russian expansionism, which he views as a planned policy of forced Russification and assimilation. Refuting this point of view, Vat'yan cites the growth of the non-Russian population pointing out that "during the years of Soviet power, the number of Uzbeks increased threefold and the Kazakhs doubled, etc." Simon's alleged statement that the Russian language is forcibly introduced into schools, state and social institutions simply has no basis in truth, he adds. Finally Vat'yan accuses Simon of

falsifying the facts on the question of the Turkic anti-Soviet, anti-Armenian "propaganda campaign." Simon allegedly wrote in his article that "from the very beginning the incitement of the Armenians was carried out by the Russians," and that in general, the "Armenian question" is the creation of "Communist imperialism." Vat'yan concludes his statement on the correct Leninist view of the historical community, of the Soviet people by quoting K. S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party: "We must...repulse the incursions of Western imperialist propaganda voices, including the Dashnaks, who strive to discredit socialism and the national policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

CSO: 1830/50

REGIONAL

ODESSA OBKOM CHIEF ON NEW CAMPAIGN AGAINST INERTIA

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 5 October carries on page 2 a 1,700-word interview by PRAVDA correspondent V. Kozhemyako with A.P. Nochevkin, first secretary of the Odessa Obkom of the Ukrainian Communist Party, entitled "Overcoming Inertia." Nochevkin, who was elected to his position about a year ago, admits that Odessa Oblast is behind in several indicators in fulfilling the 5-year plan and blames this on widespread inertia, especially among those in leadership positions. He outlines several steps which he has taken to counter inertia. One is a campaign to implement the brigade structure among agricultural workers in response to a favorable experiment with this in Kominternovskiy Rayon. Another is the "education of leaders, in which all party links must participate." A particularly significant step is the "toughening of inquiries into errors which have been permitted." Nochevkin cites an example which occurred in Krasnooknyanskiy Rayon, in which the raykom first secretary, Shimko, and the chairman of the rayispolkom, Zaichencko, were fired and expelled from the party for taking kolkhoz land and even land from pensioners to make their own private plots. To make matters worse, when letters of complaint were first received from kolkhoz workers in this case, workers of the Agriculture Department of the obkom termed the complaints "unsubstantiated." Only after a second inquiry by the obkom's Party Commission was the case settled, with two members of the Agriculture Department also being fired. This case is one example to justify Nochevkin's final step in the campaign, a decision to pay closer attention to workers' letters. He cites another example, that of a letter received from a teacher about serious wrongdoings in distribution of living space by Korobkin, head of the Zhovtnev Rayon Housing Allocation Association, as a result of which Korobkin was expelled from the party. Those who had placed obstacles in the way of the investigation of the teacher's letter were also punished. As a result of such cases, Nochevkin asserts, "people have begun to believe us. The number of frank letters to oblast organs has been increasing, whereas those directed outside the oblast have fallen off." The workers of the oblast are now motivated to fulfill the five-year plan, Nochevkin concludes.

CSO: 1800/55

REGIONAL

BRIEFS

NEW ARSSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DEPUTY CHAIRMAN--The Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium has issued a decree appointing Comrade R.A. Arzumanyan as deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers. The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has decided to appoint Comrade Robert Andrianikovick Arzumanyan as deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers. [Signed] B. Sarkisov, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; M. Bakhchinyan, secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. 22 September 1984, Yerevan. [Text] [Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 23 Sep 84 p 1 GF]

KAZAKHSTAN WRITERS' UNION 50TH ANNIVERSARY--Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 October 1984 carries on pages 1-2 a 2,500-word report titled "Kazakhstan's Writers' Organization 50 Years Old" on the 8 October anniversary plenum held in Alma-Ata of the Kazakhstan Writers' Union Board. CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, first secretary of Kazakhstan D.A. Kunayev was present at the plenum, as were members of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee Buro. O.O. Suleymenov, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Writers' Union Board gave a report on the 5-year history of the writers' union. In his speech, he noted that, although in recent decades the development of the hero has surpassed the "unhurried, by nature, pen of the author", literature's lag behind reality is an example of the rapidity of Kazakhstan's development. Other speakers at the plenum pointed out the close ties between literature and music, art and architecture. It was noted that literature is not only a reflection of life, but is instrumental in helping the party to educate the new Soviet man. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 1830/46

END